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Harvard Divinity School



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Edited by

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND

General Secretary

of the

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

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Charles S. Macfarland

Volume II. The Church and International Relations: Parts
I and II—prepared by Sidney L. Gulick and Charles S.
Macfarland

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S. Macfarland

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—prepared by Charles S. Macfarland

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by Henry H. Meyer

Being the Reports of the Council and its Commissions and
Committees to the Third Quadrennial Meeting at
St. Louis, Mo., December, 1916

Published for the

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

by the

MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
NEW YORK

VOLUME III.

**THE CHURCH
AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Report of the Commission on Peace and
Arbitration, Parts III and IV

Prepared by
SIDNEY L. GULICK
and
CHARLES S. MACFARLAND
Secretaries of the Commission



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PART III.
ACTIVITIES OF COOPERATING BODIES

PART III.

COOPERATING BODIES

The Commission on Peace and Arbitration cooperates with the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. A sketch of the origin and work of these two important organizations follows:

SECTION I. THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

I.

Establishment and First Actions

The Church Peace Union was established on February 10, 1914, at the home of Mr. Andrew Carnegie. The following persons had been selected to serve as the Board of Trustees in whose care an endowment of two million dollars was placed for the carrying on through the churches of suitable work for world organization, justice, and peace:

Peter Ainslie, Minister Christian Temple, Baltimore, Md.

Arthur Judson Brown, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

Francis E. Clark, President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor and of the World's Christian Endeavor Union.

William H. P. Faunce, President of Brown University.

James, Cardinal Gibbons.

John J. Glennon, Archbishop of St. Louis.

David H. Greer, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of New York.

Frank Oliver Hall, Pastor of the Church of the Divine Paternity, New York.

Eugene R. Hendrix, Senior Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and Ex-President Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

~~and~~ J. Hirsch, Rabbi of the Chicago Sinai Congregation, Professor

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of Rabbinita in the University of Chicago.

Hamilton Holt, Editor of the *Independent*.

William I. Hull, Professor of History and International Relations, Swarthmore College.

Charles E. Jefferson, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Minister All Souls Church, Chicago, and Editor *Unity*.

William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts.

Frederick Lynch, Secretary of The Church Peace Union and Editor of *The Christian Work*.

Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School, Chicago University, and President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Charles S. Macfarland, General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Marcus M. Marks, President of the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York.

Edwin D. Mead, Chief Director of the World Peace Foundation.

William Pierson Merrill, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City.

John R. Mott, Chairman of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference.

George A. Plimpton.

Junius B. Remensnyder, Ex-President of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States of America.

Henry Wade Rogers, Judge U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, New York, and Dean of Yale University School of Law, New Haven.

Robert E. Speer.

Francis Lynde Stetson.

James J. Walsh, Professor of Physiological Psychology, Cathedral College, New York City.

Luther B. Wilson, Resident Bishop at New York.

In presenting his gift to the trustees, Mr. Carnegie made two brief addresses; the first preceding the formal organization of the board, and the second after the organization had been effected. These addresses as reported in the press at the time are as follows:

"Trustees of the Church Peace Union, Gentlemen:

"We meet to-day under wholly exceptional conditions, for never in the history of man has such a body assembled for such a purpose; no less than twelve of the chief religious bodies of the civilized world being here represented by their

prominent official leaders, Bishop Greer, Dr. Walsh, Bishop Wilson, Dean Mathews, Dr. Remensnyder, Dr. Jefferson, Dr. Brown, Dr. Ainslie, Rev. Mr. Jones, Mr. Marks, Rev. Mr. Hall and Professor Hull, and many of their chief laymen, representing Episcopalians, Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Church of the Disciples, Unitarians, Jewish, Universalists, and Quakers, sit before me anxious to cooperate as one body in the holy task of abolishing war, a fulfillment of the prophecy that 'Men shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more'; perhaps these might prove words for the Union to adopt.

"I cannot refrain from telling you that nothing has surprised me so much as the enthusiastic response made by one and all to the suggestion that there should be formed a Church Union devoted to the abolition of war. Not one has declined to serve; all have responded from both head and heart, and accepted the task as a divine mission. Truly, gentlemen, you are making history, for this is the first union of the churches in advocacy of international peace, which I fondly hope, and strongly believe, is certain to hasten the coming of the day when men, disgracing humanity, shall cease to kill each other like wild beasts.

"I entrust this great mission to you, believing that the voice which goes forth from the united churches of the world against war and in favor of peace is to prove the most powerful voice of all."

After the trustees had organized themselves into the Church Peace Union, Mr. Carnegie announced his gift in the following words:

"Gentlemen of many religious bodies, all irrevocably opposed to war and devoted advocates of peace:

"We all feel, I believe, that the killing of man by man in battle is barbaric, and negatives our claim to civilization. This crime we wish to banish from the earth. Some progress has already been made in this direction, but recently men have shed more of their fellow's blood than for years previously. We need to be aroused to our duty and banish war.

"Certain that the strongest appeal that can be made is to members of the religious bodies, to you I hereby appeal, hoping that you will feel it to be not only your duty, but your

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pleasure, to undertake the administration of two millions of dollars five per cent. bonds, the income to be so used as in your judgment will most successfully appeal to the people in the cause of peace through arbitration of international disputes; that as man in civilized lands is compelled by law to submit personal disputes to courts of law, so nations shall appeal to the court at The Hague or to such tribunals as may be mutually agreed upon, and bow to the verdict rendered, thus insuring the reign of national peace through international law. When that day arrives, either through such courts of law or through other channels, this trust shall have fulfilled its mission.

"After the arbitration of international disputes is established and war abolished, as it certainly will be some day, and that sooner than expected, probably by the Teutonic nations, Germany, Britain, and the United States, first deciding to act in unison, other Powers joining later, the trustees will divert the revenue of this fund to relieve the deserving poor and afflicted in their distress, especially those who have struggled long and earnestly against misfortune and have not themselves altogether to blame for their poverty. Members of the various churches will naturally know sufferers well, and can therefore the better judge. As a general rule, it is best to help those who help themselves, but there are unfortunates from whom this cannot be expected.

"After war is abolished by the leading nations the trustees by a vote of two thirds may decide that a better use for the funds than those named in the preceding paragraph have been found, and are free according to their own judgment to devote the income to the best advantage for the good of their fellow men.

"Trustees shall be reimbursed for all expenses incurred in connection with their duties as trustees, including traveling expenses, and to each annual meeting expenses of wife or daughter.

"Happy in the belief that the civilized world will not, cannot, long tolerate the killing of man by man as a means of settling its international disputes, and that civilized men will not, cannot, long enter a profession which binds them to go forth and kill their fellow men as ordered, although they will continue to defend their homes if attacked as a duty, which

always involves the duty of never attacking the homes of others, I am, cordially yours."

The first act of the Church Peace Union was to pass the following resolutions by a rising vote:

Resolved, That the trustees of the Church Peace Union, deeply grateful to Andrew Carnegie for establishing this great and significant foundation, and for the honor done themselves in being called to its administration, accept with high appreciation his generous gift and pledge themselves to the faithful fulfilment of the trust committed to them.

Resolved, That in expressing our gratitude and, as in confidence we may, that of the various religious bodies with which we are associated, for this impressive provision for our sacred cause, we desire to record our sense of the commanding duty which it imposes upon the religious world and its peculiar moment for humanity at this hour. The present system of war and armaments stands condemned by the conscience and intelligence of mankind as unworthy of the civilization which we have achieved. Opposed to the first principles of modern industry, economy, and politics, it is above all opposed to the principles of morality and religion, and we consecrate ourselves unitedly, in the spirit and purpose of the founder of this Church Peace Union, to untiring effort to rally the world's moral forces and men of all religions to the work of supplanting war by justice and international brotherhood.

The following constituted the first public utterance of the Church Peace Union, and was sent, as the closing resolution provided, to the distinguished personages referred to.

RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Church Peace Union, and of one or other of the following religious bodies: Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Congregational, Presbyterian, Disciples of Christ, Unitarian, Jewish, Universalist, and Friends, as our first duty appeal to the rulers, statesmen, and people of all civilized lands to give their immediate, earnest, and prayerful attention to the lamentable facts here presented, hoping they will realize it as their first duty to provide the remedy which seems open before them through a union of several powers pledged to cooperate in abolishing savage war and establishing the reign of peace through arbitration of international disputes; that as citizens must appeal to the tribunals of the law to redress their wrongs, so shall nations.

Here, as it appears to us, lie the two outstanding evils of our day, entailing grave responsibilities upon all religious men from

emperor to workman, that the crime of men killing each other may soon be banished from the face of the earth.

FIRST: The combined debt of the world, mostly borrowed and used for war purposes, amounts to nearly \$37,000,000,000. The interest charge of the world on its national bonded debt amounts to \$1,500,000,000. The amount expended yearly on standing armies and battleships is \$3,500,000,000. If the entire property of the United States were to be sold, and the returns capitalized and put at interest at four per cent., it would just about keep up the military and naval forces of the world in time of peace. Our own country, the United States, spends on army and navy, \$800,000 per day.

The so-called civilized world maintains, chiefly in idle parade, usually all their lives, no less than 6,244,600 men, armed and pledged to go forth and kill their fellow men as ordered should war arise. Most of these, however, never fire a hostile shot, war being the exception, long years of idleness the rule. Even in war with men firing at battleships twelve miles distant, with troops under cover firing at troops a mile distant—war is no longer conducive to the heroic.

SECOND: The second sad and distressful crime of our day is that in war we are still capturing private property upon the high seas, although it is exempt from confiscation in war upon the land. This is the greater sin, for the seas are the highways of peaceful and necessary exchange of products; no nation has been created to live by its own products alone, but by peaceful, neighborly exchange with other nations, thus creating a brotherhood of man, each benefitting the other. Little do the masses know the extent of this amazing friendly exchange. Last year Germany imported food products to the value of \$375,000,000, the total value of her imports being \$2,530,000,000. France imported food products to the value of \$340,000,000, her total imports being \$1,960,000,000. Even our country, the United States, imported food products to the extent of \$355,000,000, total imports \$1,650,000,000. The world's annual exchange of its products amounts to the almost incredible sum of thirty-three billions, five hundred millions of dollars.

We pause to ask this question of the governors of these armed naval powers: Why should this beneficent exchange of products between nations, so vast as to require eleven figures to express, and drawing men towards a holy brotherhood, be interrupted by them against the seemingly obvious plans of an all-wise Creator? Appalling, indeed, the responsibility of rulers, who have the power

to remove this embargo upon peaceful, holy exchange amongst men who should be as brothers, promoting each other's good.

There is another aspect worthy of attention: the three Teutonic nations, Germany, the Fatherland; Britain, the Motherland; and the United States, peopled largely with their sons and daughters, all as we have seen, deeply involved in international exchange of products, naturally possess for its protection the greatest part of the naval power of the world; why, therefore, should they not meet and agree to inform the world in friendly manner that they could not look with favor upon war on the high seas, the sacred pathway of peaceful exchange, promoting the brotherhood of man.

Signatures:

PETER AINSLIE	FREDERICK LYNCH
ARTHUR J. BROWN	CHAS. S. MACFARLAND
FRANCIS E. CLARK	MARCUS M. MARKS
W. H. P. FAUNCE	SHAILER MATHEWS
J. CARDINAL GIBBONS	EDWIN D. MEAD
DAVID H. GREER	WILLIAM P. MERRILL
FRANK O. HALL	JOHN R. MOTT
E. R. HENDRIX	GEORGE A. PLIMPTON
EMIL G. HIRSCH	J. B. REMENSNYDER
HAMILTON HOLT	HENRY W. ROGERS
WILLIAM I. HULL	ROBERT E. SPEER
CHAS. E. JEFFERSON	FRANCIS L. STETSON
JENKIN LLOYD JONES	JAMES J. WALSH
WILLIAM LAWRENCE	L. B. WILSON

RESOLVED, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be sent to each sovereign, president, prime minister, minister of foreign relations, president of legislature, and other high officials of the world powers, and to the clergy of Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

In view of the character and position of the persons to whom this first public declaration of the Church Peace Union was to be sent, it was printed in artistic form on vellum with illuminated capitals.

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The following were elected officers at the first meeting of the Union.

President

Rt. Rev. David H. Greer, D.D., LL.D.

Vice-President

Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D.

Secretary

Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D.

Treasurer

George A. Plimpton, LL.D.

Executive Committee

Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D.D.

Hamilton Holt, Esq.

Professor William I. Hull

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D.

Edwin D. Mead, Esq.

Robert E. Speer, D.D.

Professor James J. Walsh, D.D.

Finance Committee

George A. Plimpton, LL.D.

Francis L. Stetson, Esq.

Marcus M. Marks, Esq.

II.

Work for the Year 1914

The most important work of the Church Peace Union for 1914 was the holding of the First International Conference of the Churches for the promotion of friendship and goodwill. This important gathering was convened in Constance, Germany, August 2, 1914—the day after war was declared between Germany and Russia. The Conference itself proved so important, resulting as it did in the formation of an international movement—the “World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches”—that the entire second section in this report is devoted to a description of the conference itself and of the organization and work of the World Alliance.

The principal items of work financed or directly carried on from the offices of the Church Peace Union during the year 1914 were as follows, as reported by the secretary:

PEACE SUNDAY

One of the first appropriations made by the executive committee was a sum not to exceed \$5,000 for securing sermons throughout the country on Peace Sunday, May 17. Fifty thousand letters were sent to as many pastors throughout the country, and with them several pieces of valuable literature, including Dr. Jefferson's pamphlet, “The Delusion of Militarism,” and a pamphlet of twelve pages, specially prepared by your secretary, to help pastors in the preparation of their sermons, and which gave in detail an account of the part the United States has played in the peace movement. These letters were sent out in April, and we were overwhelmed with requests for further literature.

While, by the preaching of these sermons on Peace Sunday, the cause of peace is put before many thousands of listeners, your secretary sometimes thinks that the greatest result is found in the interest awakened in the pastors by the study of peace literature in preparation for their sermons.

PRIZE ESSAYS ON PEACE

At the April meeting of the executive committee the sum of \$5,000 was appropriated for prizes for the best essays on International Peace. One thousand dollars was offered to the clergymen of the United States for the best monograph on the subject, with the hope that from this contest one or more books might result which would be real contributions to peace literature. Prizes of \$500, \$300 and \$200 were offered to the students of the divinity schools for the best essays on the subject. Three thousand dollars was divided up into prizes for young men and women in the churches, and boys and girls in the Sunday-schools. Announcement of these prizes was made through the press of the country, and special notices were sent to the divinity schools. The simple announcement in the papers brought to us many requests for literature. But this is good, for literature which is sent in answer to request is much more apt to be read than that which is distributed freely. This offering of prizes has received universal approval and your secretary, who has had the pleasure of conducting the Lake Mohonk prize contests for the girls' colleges for several years and of reading the essays, believes that there is no better way of interesting young people in this movement. Over two thousand applications have been received for the literature we specially prepared for the contestants for the prizes.

Early in January, 1915, the following statement was published as to the prizes offered, the winners, and the titles of their essays:

In 1914 the Church Peace Union offered \$5,000 in prizes, to be distributed as follows:

1. A prize of one thousand dollars (\$1,000) for the best monograph of between 15,000 and 25,000 words on any phase of international peace by any pastor of any church in the United States.

2. Three prizes, one of five hundred dollars (\$500), one of three hundred dollars (\$300), and one of two hundred dollars (\$200), for the three best essays on international peace by students of the theological seminaries in the United States.

3. One thousand dollars (\$1,000) in ten prizes of one hundred dollars (\$100) each to church members between twenty (20) and thirty (30) years of age.

4. Twenty (20) prizes of fifty dollars (\$50) each to Sunday-school pupils between fifteen (15) and twenty (20) years of age.

5. Fifty (50) prizes of twenty dollars (\$20) each to Sunday-school pupils between ten (10) and fifteen (15) years of age.

About one hundred essays from pastors were received, and one hundred from divinity students. These prizes are offered not entirely with the expectation of discovering a remarkable book—although that may come some day—but with the idea that the writers are led to make a thorough study of the subject, and the interest awakened in the cause from these studies is never lost. The judges were Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., Rev. George William Douglas, D.D., and Robert Underwood Johnson, Esq. The prize-winners for last year were as follows:

Gaius Glenn Atkins, Central Cong. Church, Providence, R. I.:

"The Causes of War."

R. Niebuhr, Yale School of Religion, New Haven, Conn.:

"Patriotism and Altruism."

Ralph W. Nelson, Phillips University, East End, Okla.:

"Victims of Victory."

P. B. Blanshard, Andover Seminary, Cambridge, Mass.:

"Industrial Patriotism."

Hoyt H. Hudson, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho: "Christmas, 1914."

Bryant Smith, 905 Lincoln Place, Boulder, Colo.:

"Exploded Theories."

Oliver C. Moles, Edgewater, Colo.: "International Justice."

Philip Arnold, c/o J. C. Sandall, 2122 Sherman Avenue, Cranston,

Ill.: "The Federation of Nations."

Benjamin Lloyd Knight, College of Medicine, Iowa City, Iowa:

"The Mission of the Neutral Nations."

Roy Francis Howes, 219 Ramona Street, Palo Alto, Cal.:

"The Monroe Doctrine and Peace."

Arthur Lockwood Johnson, 381 N. 13th Street, San Jose, Cal.:

"The Evolutionary Aspects of International Arbitration."

Charles L. Stewart, 309 Commerce Bldg., University of Illinois,

Urbana, Ill.: "Some Criticisms of Peace Proposals."

Walter B. Broc, Clifton, Va.: "Constructive Warfare."

Clyde Eagleston, Worcester College, Oxford, Texas:

"War and Peace."

Pasquale Malafronte, 58-68 Kenmare Street, New York City:

"Why and How to Abolish War."

Clarence W. Weiant, W. Haverstraw, N. Y.:

"The Problem of International Peace."

George W. Peterson, R. R. No. 1, Box 26, Mayer, Minn.:

"War: Sources, Results and Remedies."

Margaret Barnum, 1515 Spring Garden Avenue, W. Berwick, Pa.:

"The Problem of Public Safety."

Pearl Helen Horth, 629 N. Main Street, Meadville, Pa.:

"International Peace—The Greatest Problem of the Age."

H. Lowrey Cooling, 315 N. Calhoun Street, Baltimore, Md.:

"The Futility of an Armed Peace."

Ethan D. Alyea, 1 South Dod Hall, Princeton, N. J.:

"Peace Through Justice."

Anne Margaret Johnston, 1719 Fifth Avenue, Council Bluffs, Iowa:

"Peace—Why and How?"

W. Bede Mitchell, Faulkton, S. D., (R. F. D.):

"Peace Through Federation."

Robert W. Dunn, 231 Washington Street, Huntingdon, Pa.:

"The Publicity of Peace."

Van Kirk Bender, Mineral City, Tuscarawas County, Ohio:

"Creating the Spirit of War."

Malbone W. Graham, Jr., Ukiah, Cal.:

"The Monroe Doctrine and International Peace."

Fred L. Bielaski, Annapolis, Md.: "Essay on International Peace."

Clark A. Warburton, Cohocton, N. Y.:

"The Failure of Armaments."

Cora Heestand, Elkhart, Ind.: "World Peace Through Christ."

Elbert Charman, Oregon City, Ore.:

"The Coming Leader of Nations."

John Layton Sunday, Newport, Pa.:

"The Day of International Peace."

Levon Tashjian, New York Orphanage, Hastings-on-Hudson, N. Y.:

"International Peace."

Lawrence Jackson Phyffer, Lum, Ala.:

Will Earl, Mt. Hope, Kan.:

"International Peace Must Be Brought About Through Christianity."

Herbert G. Zimmerman, Little Ferry, N. J.: "International Peace."

Beatrice Kendall, Versailles, Conn.: "An Essay on the Civil War."

Dale Wadsworth, Lake City, Iowa: "International Peace."

Rollin Haldeman, R. F. D. No. 1, Box 30, E. Rochester, Ohio:

"International Peace."

Julia Meadows, 1002 11th Street, Douglas, Ariz.: "Peace and War."

Letha Mathews, Segundo, Colo.: "International Peace."

Ninde Wilder, 409 Fourth Street, Wallace, Idaho: "Peace and War."

Maurine Jones, Monte Vista, Colo.: "War and Peace."

- H. Stephens, Monroe, N. Y.: "International Peace."
Claire E. Garretson, Belle Mead, N. J.: "International Peace."
Eleanore Weddell, Woodbury, N. J.: "Peace."
Herbert Charles Ball, Sunnyside, Yakima County, Wash.:
 "International Peace"
Robert H. LaFollette, LaFollette, Tenn.: "Universal Peace."
Ruth N. Shepherd, 948 Clay Avenue, Scranton, Pa.:
 "War and Peace."
Thomas Dartnell, 277 N. 20th Street, East Orange, N. J.:
 "War and Peace."
Martha Robison, Haleyville, Ala.: "War and Peace."
Hazel Chamberlain: "International Peace."
Harold Swan, c/o J. S. Swan, Florence, Cal.: "International Peace."
Benjamin M. Veltman, Holland, Mich.:
 "Shall We Prepare for War?"
Emma Buffa, 2301 Crotona Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.:
 "War and Peace."
Charlotte Grace Reyer, 1319 N. Alabama Street, Indianapolis, Ind.:
 "International Peace."
John G. Burrow, 36 East Chase Street, Pensacola, Fla.:
 "Peace vs. War."
Eunice E. Prichard, 40 Mechanic Street, Orange, Mass.:
 "The Gospel of Peace."
Clarice Olson, Karlsborg, Wis.: "World-Wide Peace."
Caroline Bovey, 64 Hancock Avenue, Newton Centre, Mass.:
 "The Cost of War."
Wilber Currey, Lebanon, Kan.: "The Evils of War."
Maybelle T. Galbreath, 1735 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Md.:
 "War and Peace."
Wesley D. Mitchell, 6649 Parnell Avenue, Chicago, Ill.:
 "International Peace."
Carl Amos Tefft, Weeping Water, Neb.: "International Peace."
Joseph P. Buckingham, Suffield, Conn.: "War and Peace."
Dorothy Fisher, 1223 Girard Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.:
 "International Peace."
Oswald Fenton Hedley, Ashland, Va.: "War and Peace."
Sigmund Kluss Proctor, 48 N. McCamly Street, Battle Creek, Mich.:
 "International Peace."
Joy Freeman, Longton, Kan.: "International Peace."
Marion C. Armstrong, Greenwich, N. Y.: "War and Peace."
Ruth N. Drake, 1418 Ruby Avenue, Kansas City, Kan.:
 "War and Peace."

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Stefano Petacci, 1059 Foster Avenue, Chicago, Ill.: "Peace."

Doris A. Kerlin, 118 W. Main Street, Greenville, Ohio:

"The Mission of Beautiful Avarilla."

John Sundloff, Deer River, Minn.: "Peace."

Robert Elder, 34 Minot Street, West Lynn, Mass.:

"The Peace Movement."

Clara Martin, Burton View, R. R. No. 1, Ill.: "International Peace."

Herbert F. Kretchman, 48 No. 40th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.:

"War and Peace."

W. R. Johnston, 200 E. Superior Street, Chicago, Ill.:

"Why and How War Can Be Abolished."

Lela Buckley, Centre, Saguache County, Colo.:

"International Peace."

Dean Henderson Ashton, 106 Washington Avenue, Collingswood,

N. J.: "International Peace."

Marion Karn, Roswell, Idaho: "Destruction Caused by War."

Lora Crockett, 108 S. 6th Street, Alhambra, Cal.:

"How War Ruins Character."

Ruth E. Bixby, West Groton, Mass.: "The Christ of the Andes."

Elwood Regan, 616 E. 161st Street, New York City:

"International Peace."

Kenneth B. Keating, Lima, N. Y.:

"The Pan-American Union as a Promoter of Peace."

PUBLICATIONS

Early in the year a Publication Committee was appointed, consisting of the secretary, with Mr. Edwin D. Mead and Mr. Hamilton Holt.

The committee decided at the outset to publish only such material as would eagerly be read because of its intrinsic excellence, its timeliness, and the wide reputation of its authors. Nothing has been more encouraging than the universal response to our publications. We have evidence from all sides that everything we send out is carefully read, and our literature is also widely quoted in the press of the nation.

We have published in large quantities and sent either to our first mailing list of 10,000 clergymen in the larger churches, or to our second list of 55,000 names, the following publications:

"The Delusion of Militarism," by Dr. Charles E. Jefferson.

"The Nemesis of Armaments," by Dr. Charles E. Jefferson.

"The United States and World Unity" (written by the secretary to assist clergymen to prepare sermons for Peace Sunday).

"In the Vanguard," by Katrina Trash.

"Some Sidelights on the Collapse of European Policies," by Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D.

"A League of Peace," by Andrew Carnegie.

"Militarism the Eternal Foe of Democracy," by the Secretary.

The Independent of May containing the symposium on mediation by our Trustees.

"Justice and National Greatness," by the Secretary.

"The Appeal of the Swiss Pastors to the Churches of Europe."

"The Making of Peace," by Dr. William P. Merrill. (Expense of printing 55,000 copies privately borne.)

"Is it Peace or War?" by Dr. Frank Oliver Hall.

"In the Vanguard" (an editorial), by Prof. Samuel T. Dutton.

"The War and the Churches," by Dr. John Clifford.

"Alfred Noyes on Peace," an interview by Rosamond Botsford. Peace Number of *The Christian Work* for Day of Prayer, October 4th, containing several articles by our Trustees and published expressly to aid pastors to prepare their sermons.

"A History of the Peace Movement in the Churches of the United States." (Dr. Macfarland's address at Constance.)

"Constructive Methods for Promoting International Peace," by Dr. Gulick.

"The Responsibility of Pastors toward the Oriental Problem," by Dr. Gulick.

"The Peace Palace: A Prophecy," by the Secretary.

The Letter of the English Friends to People of Good Will.

The Declaration issued by the Delegates of the American Churches at the close of the Constance Conference.

Resolutions of The Church Peace Union, passed February 10th. (Over 100,000 circulated in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany.)

Besides these regular publications several thousand pamphlets, published by the World's Peace Foundation, the American Peace Society, and the Society for International Conciliation, have been furnished to the writers of the prize essays in answer to requests, and a few books to clergymen.

Of course the outbreak of the war made it necessary that we should redouble our efforts along the line of publication and propaganda. Never before have the people of the United States been so interested in reading-matter relating to inter-

national peace as now, and your secretary, as well as the publication committee, felt that neither effort nor money should be spared at this time to put the right literature before the churches. Consequently we have been distributing to the clergy of the United States some of the very best utterances that we could find which deal especially with the lessons of this war and the terms of peace and the new political organization that should be demanded after the war is over. We have sent out to our list of over fifty thousand clergymen such pamphlets as Mr. Carnegie's "A League of Peace," Dr. Jefferson's "The Nemesis of Armaments," the manifesto issued by the friends of London, John Clifford's address on "The War and the Churches," the declaration made by the American delegates at the close of the Constance Conference, Dr. Hillis's "The Lessons of the War," and many utterances which, in the judgment of your publication committee, were timely and effective. But added to this the call of the President of the United States for all the churches to engage in a Day of Prayer made it necessary to send out thousands of packages of literature which would be of especial value in aiding ministers to prepare sermons for this occasion. Since September we have sent out considerably over a million pieces of peace literature. Much of this has been prepared by our trustees. Your secretary is now asking that each trustee should write his message in the light of this war, that it may go out in a series of tracts from the Church Peace Union office. This is a good opportunity for each trustee to do a fine service for the Union. Already Dr. Jefferson's contribution, "The Cause of the War," has gone out and has attracted wide attention. Five more papers, those by Bishop Greer, Dr. Macfarland, Dr. Ainslie, Dr. Remensnyder, and Mr. Holt, are on the press, and those by Dr. Merrill, Dr. Hall, Dr. Clark, Bishop Lawrence and Professor Hull are in hand. Others are being prepared. They are all being issued in uniform edition under the general title of "The Church and International Peace, a Series of Papers by the Trustees of The Church Peace Union." The secretary takes great pleasure in saying that they are all of very high excellence, and the completed series will constitute by far the finest contribution to peace literature from the point of view of religion that has yet been made.

A. B. C. MEDIATION IN THE AMERICAN-MEXICAN SITUATION

In connection with the mediation carried on by the A. B. C. Powers between the United States and Mexico, the Church Peace Union sent the following letter to 10,000 clergymen.

April 29, 1914.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

The Church Peace Union, composed of the above representatives of many denominations, including Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish, rejoices, with all good men, that the President of the United States has accepted the mediation of the South American republics, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, in our unhappy relations with Mexico. We welcome this ready acceptance by the President and the people of the United States of peaceful methods of settling international disputes as a happy omen of the growth of that temper which desires justice, brotherhood, and good-will with other nations, rather than war. We have noted with deep satisfaction that the press of the nation, with few exceptions, has evinced that soberness in the present crisis which has characterized the pulpit and the people, and has welcomed mediation as a way of avoiding war. It presages much for the happy relationships of the American republics that the offer comes from South America. The Vatican has instructed the papal nuncios in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to support these governments in their action looking toward the establishment of permanent peace between the United States and Mexico. The Church Peace Union, in addressing this letter to the churches, recommends and earnestly implores that every church in the nation set aside next Sunday as a day of prayer for God's blessing upon this suggested peaceful solution of our difficulties. Let all the churches pray that the mediation proffered by our sister republics result in a just, happy, and permanent friendship of all the American republics.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) FREDERICK LYNCH,

Secretary.

On June 22, 1914 the *Independent* published letters from each of the Church Peace Union trustees on the "Meaning of the Mexican Mediation." These were reprinted on a large four-page leaflet and widely distributed.

In addition to the matters thus far mentioned as constituting important activities of the year, the Church Peace Union has also cooperated with the Federal Council of the Churches in

the work carried on by the Commission on Relations with Japan (see Vol. IV.), the Commission on Christian Education (see Vol. III., pp. 85-88), and the Committee on the Centennial Celebration of Peace between Great Britain and the United States (see Vol. III., pp. 70-78).

SUMMARY FOR THE YEAR 1914

The first year of work was of necessity a year of beginnings. Enterprises were started whose results can come only later. As will have been gathered from a reading of the foregoing pages, the Church Peace Union works largely through other agencies, to which it makes grants for specific objects.

A brief financial statement of the principal objects may fittingly close the report of the year. The total expenditures amounted to \$100,000. Of this, \$5,700 was expended on promoting the wide observance of Peace Sunday; \$20,000 was sent to the British and German Peace Councils before the outbreak of the war; \$13,700 was expended on the Conference in Constance and London; \$10,000 was granted the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America for its Commission on Peace and Arbitration and for the Commission on Relations with Japan; \$5,000 was given the Federal Council Commission on One Hundred Years of Peace; \$2,000 to the New York City Church Federation for organizing peace work among the New York churches; \$1,000 to the Federal Council Commission on Christian Education for the preparation of a course of study in war and peace suited to the needs of Sunday-schools, and \$13,400 was expended in publications and general publicity work.

III.

Work for the Year 1915

The work of the Church Peace Union for 1915 was naturally more varied than that of the previous year. Following the lines already laid out, it made substantial grants to many important enterprises. The report, therefore, which it makes describes the activities of the various organizations and committees to which financial aid was granted. There were, however, a number of activities of the Church Peace Union that should also be duly recorded.

A MESSAGE TO THE CHURCHES

On February 8, 1915, The Church Peace Union issued a letter to the churches, which was drafted by Dr. Brown and signed by all the trustees. This letter given in full below was sent to 10,000 selected clergymen, to all the religious papers in this country, Canada, Great Britain, and Germany. Extracts were made from it for the daily press, and it was widely used throughout the country. Indeed, the daily press gave more space to it than did the religious press. Several thousand copies of this address were also distributed among the British churches.

THE AMERICAN CHURCHES AND THE EUROPEAN WAR—A MESSAGE FROM THE CHURCH PEACE UNION

February 8, 1915.

TO THE CHURCHES AND CLERGY OF AMERICA:

In this time of tumult, when more than half the population of the globe is involved in war, the church of God should counsel:

MODERATION. Partisanship is adding fuel to fires of passion which already are too hot. Clergymen should allay prejudice, not intensify it. Each of the warring nations believes in the justice of its cause. Their disputes are of long standing, involving all the governments concerned, and their full history is yet to be written. In a period of such tense feeling, it is not easy to unravel the

tangled skein of motives and events. It is a grievous thing that there is war between peoples whom we respect and count our friends. In this calamitous hour, denunciation of either side assumes a superhuman knowledge of complex policies and purposes, imperils the influence of our government in promoting peace, aggravates a quarrel which we should help to abate, creates dissensions among our own people, inflames a war spirit in America, and gives force to the criticism that the church has abdicated its sacred function as the maker of peace and concord.

PENITENCE. We should realize not only that each of the warring nations has helped to create the conditions of which the war is a tragic expression but that these conditions characterize Americans as well as Europeans. We are quite as belligerent in temper as other men. We should condemn the causes of war; but we should look for them not so much in state papers as in the fears and prejudices and rivalries which are common to men everywhere except as they are influenced by the divine spirit. Our own freedom from militarism has been due to protecting oceans rather than to superior virtue. The present clamor for an armament to resist a possible attack is prompted, not by peril, but by the disposition to echo on our side of the sea the cries which have been heard in Europe for years, and it is engendering the same suspicions that have wrecked the relations of Germany and Great Britain. Are we to repeat the policy which is drenching the Continent with blood? This is the time to prepare, not for war, but for peace.

FAITH. God only can "speak peace" to the nations. He alone can recreate a chaotic world. Materialistic civilization has developed mind and energy rather than conscience. The peoples whose universities are the greatest, whose statesmen and philosophers the most famous, whose industrial achievements the most advanced, whose armies and navies the most colossal, are the very ones that are fighting. Modern science has equipped race hatred with deadlier weapons and thus increased its power for ruin. A world order built up by secular education and dependent on force has collapsed. Christianity has not failed; but nations have failed to be Christian. The ideas underlying this war spring from a savage interpretation of life and directly contravene the teachings of Jesus. The paramount need, therefore, is a new interpretation in the light of a fresh discovery of God and of what he requires of man. This need transcends questions of national policy and armament. The settlement of existing strife awaits its fulfilment.

There is no other hope for humanity. The task is stupendous; but "all things are possible to him that believeth." Have we faith to believe, faith to draw boldly upon the undeveloped resources of the church in God for the reconstruction of the world?

RIGHTEOUSNESS—INTERNATIONAL RIGHTEOUSNESS. Religion too often has been conceived as so local and personal that it had no relation to national policies. Men in their corporate capacity as a state have ignored moral laws that as citizens they uphold. The time has come to insist that the law of the jungle should be replaced by the law of humanity; that there is no double standard of ethics; that there cannot be one rule for individuals and another for their governments; that deceiving others, oppressing the weak, stealing territory, destroying property, and murdering rivals—acts which are criminal between men—are no less wrong between nations; that the real greatness of a people lies not in regiments and battle-ships but in justice and forbearance; and that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

BROTHERHOOD. We profess to believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, that "God hath made of one blood all nations." Why has not this gospel wrought its normal work among the nations? Why are men trying to settle by slaughter what can be settled only by mutual good-will? Because they have not accepted the implications of their belief; because they regard one another as foes rather than as friends. Clearly then it is the mission of the churches to inculcate the principles of mutual respect and confidence, to make real the faith that we preach. Let us keep out of the wordy warfare about incidents which, however lamentable, are the concomitants of all wars, and concentrate our efforts upon the major evangel of divine brotherhood. When nations are walking among heaps of powder with lighted matches, an explosion is inevitable sooner or later. The vital question concerns not so much the dropping of a match as the presence of the powder. Why was it there? If nations fear and hate one another, they will fight, whether they annually add one or a dozen battle-ships to their navy, or a thousand or a hundred thousand men to their army. The golden rule must be made effective in international intercourse. This is the urgent duty of the churches, and American churches now have free opportunity to speak. They should be the channel through which the grace of God can become operative. They should make clear the distinction between the teachings of Jesus and so-called modern civiliza-

tion, cease baptizing national pride and selfishness with the name of patriotism, put forth greater effort to make the divine spirit leaven all human relationships, and proclaim the missionary message of international Christianity, of altruistic ministries to other peoples, of God as the universal Father instead of a national deity, of the unity of the human race, of religion as "the power of God unto salvation" and the antithesis of aggression and brute force.

SYMPATHY. For our brethren on both sides, many of whom are fighting more in grief than in anger; for the sick and the wounded; for parents bereft of their sons, wives of their husbands, and children of their fathers. Let us not complain that in this era of agony we are called upon to give largely of our means, but let us be humbly grateful that we can help our brothers in their time of utter need.

PRAYER. That the spirit of God may so pervade the governments and peoples now at war that peace may be speedily established on a basis of mutual forbearance and love; that with humble confession of our sins, we seek a fuller understanding of the divine purpose for men and its more consistent expression in the life of nations; that the brutal and selfish elements in our civilization may be eliminated; that all men may realize that they are brothers; that all who are ministering to the physical and spiritual needs of the soldiers and their suffering wives and children may be given needful grace and strength; that the God of all pity and comfort may help the sick, the wounded and the dying, and guide the sorrowing peoples who are groping their way in the darkness that has fallen upon them; and that out of the tumult and strife of this present time the longings of a stricken world may be realized in an era of universal righteousness.

"And the work of righteousness shall be peace."

A QUESTIONNAIRE AND A LETTER

On February 15th, 1915, the following questionnaire and accompanying letter were mailed to ten thousand clergymen of all denominations:

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

1. What in your judgment should be the teaching of the Christian church concerning war as a means of settling international disputes? In the light of the teachings of Christ how far do you think a Christian nation should go in standing for or against war?

2. Have the churches done their duty in protesting against war? The remark has recently been made many times that if the churches of Europe had done their duty this war might have been averted. Do you believe this?

3. Do you not think that the same ethical principles which prevail among all good men should regulate the conduct of civilized nations in their relationships? Gentlemen do not kill, steal, practise revenge, or settle their disputes by iron or powder. Are nations exempt from these principles?

4. How far can Christ's teaching and practise of non-resistance be applied to nations? Is Christ's teaching practical?

5. What would you suggest as the best guaranty of permanent peace for Europe after this war? What can the churches do toward securing it?

6. Do you approve of the agitation for increasing armaments now being conducted by various organizations, or do you agree with President Wilson that any agitation of "America's Unpreparedness for War" is unfortunate at just this stage? We should be glad to know your frank opinion on the whole question of the United States and armament. Should we follow Europe or should we find some new way, and lead the nations?

February 15, 1915.

DEAR SIR:

In this crisis which is upon the nations everybody is asking: What can the church do to spare the world a repetition of this spectacle of Christians killing one another? Many are asking, more than ever before in history: Where does the church stand upon the whole question of war? What stand ought she to take?

The Church Peace Union is sending the enclosed list of questions to several thousand of the most eminent clergymen of the United States hoping that they will take time to consider them with the utmost thoughtfulness and care, and will answer them at sufficient length to give full expression to their opinions. It is exceedingly important that the church should express itself at this time. We cannot help believing that you will consider this as a direct call to render assistance to the cause of peace and brotherhood in the world. So we dare ask of you to write us the fullest and most outspoken expression at this time.

Not only are we hoping to find where the church stands on this whole matter but we are expecting that from these replies the Church Peace Union will receive many valuable suggestions which may be incorporated in the great work which it has before it. Considering

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that we are in the midst of a great crisis, a speedy answer will be greatly appreciated. Your name will not be used without your permission.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) FREDERICK LYNCH,

Secretary.

The answers to these letters were very satisfactory, and in the abstracts given out through the daily press of the nation furnish much encouragement for those opposing demand for excessive armament. These answers were sent in before the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and might not be so unanimously opposed to any agitation for increased armament since then as they were before, for that event was the beginning of the hysteria and fear which has seized so great a part of the nation. As a matter of fact, twenty-five out of every thirty answers were absolutely opposed to any agitation for armament, and many of them were quite strikingly emphatic as to the high destiny of this nation to walk in a new way itself and to lift Europe out of the Slough of Despond. Out of these answers the one thousand names were chosen which evinced the most interest in the peace movement, and these thousand addressed personally by your secretary in a follow-up letter.

The answers to these letters have been followed by further correspondence with more explicit directions as to work to be done in the regions under their charge. They are asked to form peacemakers' committees in all the churches and also in the various ministerial bodies. Literature is provided out of our publication fund, and every pastor is given Dr. Gulick's excellent book, *The Fight for Peace*—written by request of the Union—as a manual. Dr. Gulick has also written a "Peacemakers' Manual" at our request. The churches are all asked to adopt and expound to their people the following basis of fellowship—used by both the European and American groups—as the fundamental attitude of the churches toward the question of peace and war. (This statement has attracted wide attention both in Europe and America.) In this way we are gradually building up several hundred centers for our work under the direction of these earnest agents, mostly young men.

SMALL CONFERENCES

The following sections from the annual report of the secretary to the trustees of the Church Peace Union indicate the variety and scope of the work carried on during the year.

"Several conferences with groups of ministers have been held, generally by your secretary, sometimes by Dr. Gulick, Dr. Macfarland, and Dr. Shumaker, in Boston, Providence, Philadelphia, Washington, St. Paul, Grinnell, Elizabeth, Cleveland, New Haven, Albany, and many other places, and practically all the ministerial associations and clubs of Greater New York. (Some seventy meetings were held in the New York metropolitan district in 1915 in which the work of the churches in the peace movement was discussed, generally in conference. In this work the New York City Federation of Churches has heartily cooperated under the direction of Dr. Walter Laidlaw.) Besides these meetings, we have brought together groups of leading peace workers in the churches at luncheon on six different occasions to hear reports of work done by Dr. Battin in Europe under our direction, to hear of Dr. Gulick's work for friendly relations between the Japanese and American churches, and to hear Mr. Baker on the work in England. We have also united in other large meetings, such as the dinner given to Dr. Mathews and Dr. Gulick on their return from Japan."

VISITS TO THE SEMINARIES

"We have also begun far back in this enlistment of the churches by visiting the theological seminaries. The following have been visited: Yale, Chicago, Chicago Divinity, Berkeley (California), New Brunswick, Southwestern University, Georgetown (Texas), Southern California, Oberlin, and Dr. Horr of Newtown Theological Institute is now arranging for your secretary to visit all the seminaries in the neighborhood of Boston—a visit which was planned with him for last spring, but had to be deferred. In all these visits stress is laid upon the part the church should take in hastening the formation of machinery for settling international disputes that shall displace war; on the ethical and religious implications of war and peace; and the various phases of the subject suggested for those who are writing in our prize essay contests. (It should be remarked, however, in passing, that the average student in our theological seminaries needs little

persuasion to take a radical stand. One can find more unqualified opposition to militarism there than in any other quarter.) These visits have been very interesting, and the office is now placing peace libraries, out of our publication funds, in each theological seminary in the land. Last summer, when the peace school was held at Cornell, under the auspices of the Polity Clubs, the executive committee set aside a sum of \$1,000 for sending twenty-five students from the theological seminaries to this school. The heads of the schools were asked to choose the students, but we suggested that those who had written for our prizes be selected. Your secretary afterwards asked each student to write a letter, stating 'what he got out of the school.'

PEACE INSTITUTES

"Last spring the Rev. Elsworth Shumaker, recently pastor of the Shawmut Avenue Congregational Church, Boston, Massachusetts, author of *The World Crisis and the Way to Peace*, and the Rev. S. Byron Hershey, the well-known lecturer-manager, both ardent peace advocates, desired to try out the plan of a succession of institutes for ministers and mass-meetings for the churches, something after the nature of the Flying Squadron plan of the Anti-Saloon League. About twenty of these institutes have been held in Pennsylvania, western New York, and Ohio. A day is given to each town. The ministers are met in the morning for conference, women's organizations are met in the afternoon; a mass-meeting is held in the evening. This plan has been in operation only two months, and it is too early to tell yet whether it will be a permanent success, and whether it is the best method. So far it has been self-supporting. This much should be said. Your secretary has written to clergymen in the towns where the meetings have been held, and the answers to his letters have been enthusiastic in praise. The experiment was entered upon until January. A careful study of the work accomplished will then be made to see if it should be continued."

WORK AMONG THE CHURCHES OF NEW YORK CITY

"In the fall of 1914 an appropriation of \$2,000 was made by the executive committee to the New York Federation of Churches toward visiting and organizing the churches of the

metropolitan district. One hundred churches were visited during the winter, in most cases Dr. Laidlaw going himself. These visits were not merely occasions for making set addresses, but were generally conferences held with men's clubs, where the whole question of organizing the churches effectively to back the movement for a World Court, and a federation or league of nations pledged to use this court, which is sure to begin as soon as this war is over; indeed, is already gathering force in America and England at this moment. Wherever it was possible, committees were appointed to further the study of international problems in the churches, and to prepare the churches to cooperate in any peace legislation that may come before Congress. A course of four lectures was arranged for the West Side Y. M. C. A., in which Drs. Arthur J. Brown, George William Douglas, Walter Laidlaw, and Mr. William M. Elsworth took part. A committee on educating the people in the churches has been formed in the Federation. Last year it arranged several largely attended meetings for clergymen to hear well-known authorities on internationalism, and is planning for several such gatherings this year."

WORK AMONG THE CHURCHES OF CHICAGO

"For work among the Chicago churches and in outlying communities during 1915, the sum of \$4,000 was appropriated to be used under the direction of our three Chicago trustees, Doctors Hirsch, Jones, and Mathews. Shortly after the appropriation was made, your secretary held a conference at the La Salle Hotel, under the direction of our trustees, with the ministers of Chicago, as to plans of work and the necessity of having the voice of a united church behind the movement to put the relationships of nations on a Christian basis. Work was immediately begun and offices opened on Michigan Avenue in connection with the Chicago Peace Society. Mr. Louis P. Lochner and Mr. Alfred W. Kliefoth were engaged as secretaries to prosecute the work. The work has been fourfold.

"First, the holding of large mass-meetings in Chicago. Several of these meetings have been held, and in one case, as when Miss Addams spoke upon her return from Europe, the meeting was reported all over the country. As another instance, on the evening of November 29th, a large mass-meeting was held in the Coliseum, Chicago, with an attend-

ance of 15,000. Mr. Kliefoth writes: 'This is no doubt a record for a peace meeting in the United States, and establishes a precedent in Roman Catholic circles.'

"Secondly, conferences with pastors and men's clubs as to doing permanent peace work in the churches, introducing courses of studies into the various clubs and leagues, preaching frequently upon the subject, and contributing to the cause. (The Chicago churches have considerably increased our appropriation.)

"Thirdly, by speaking and literature. Dr. Jones writes that he has spoken on peace before the churches and other institutions over seventy-five times since March 1st, and Dr. Mathews has spoken for us several times, apart from his many addresses while in Japan. Mr. Lochner and Mr. Kliefoth have spoken almost daily, and Mr. Lochner was made chairman of the resolutions committee of San Francisco at your secretary's request and drew up resolutions which attracted wide attention in the press and were afterwards presented to President Wilson, who read them with much interest.

"Fourthly, one of the most interesting things about the Chicago work is the opening we have secured into the Roman Catholic churches. Mr. Kliefoth, a young man with ability and energy, has given much of his time to conference with the Roman Catholic bishops, priests, and leaders in the churches. He has addressed many groups in the churches and in various organizations. He has had rather remarkable success in enlisting the active participation in his work of several of the most influential men in the Roman Catholic churches and has had several interviews with Cardinal Gibbons concerning work among Roman Catholics. He seems to be opening a door, and it may be that we shall be led to appointing a special committee, with one of our trustees as chairman, and perhaps Mr. Kliefoth as executive secretary, to work among the Roman Catholic churches, with a special appropriation to this committee for their work."

PUBLICATIONS AND PUBLICITY

"The work of the Committee on Publicity and Publication has not been easy during 1915. The demand for literature bearing upon the peace movement has been overwhelming, while at the same time the war has rendered much of the

literature previously available of little value. Early in the year the committee, urged by the incessant demand for literature discussing the question of war and peace from the distinctively Christian point of view, and also believing that here was a good opportunity for our trustees to render service to the cause, requested each trustee to write, for our use, what he believed should be the Christian message at such a time as this. Ten trustees responded to our invitation, some sending sermons or addresses they had made, others writing their message. It had been hoped that all would respond, as it seemed a unique opportunity, especially for the trustees. The papers were all good. Four of them have been of inestimable service, and have been in great demand. Two of them have run through edition after edition, and did we supply all the churches asking for them, it would have exhausted our funds. One of these pamphlets came into the hands of the famous professor of international law at Vienna, Dr. Lamasch. He said that it was the best thing that had ever been written on militarism, and that he would distribute it broadcast throughout Germany and Austria if we would have it translated. This has been done. These tracts were also offered to all the religious papers of this country and England, to be used freely as signed articles or editorials, and they have been widely copied.

"Apart from two or three of these essays, the two volumes, which have been by common consent recognized as the best books on the relation of the Christian to war written in America during 1915, are: Dr. Jefferson's *Christianity and International Peace*, with its six chapters on "The Greatest Problem of the Century," "The Bible and War," "The Church and Peace," "Christianity and Militarism," "Some Fallacies of Militarism," "What Shall We Do?" and Dr. Washington Gladden's, *The Great War*, with its six chapters on "What the War Must Bring," "The Futility of Force," "Is Christianity a Failure?" "What Will End the War?" "Get a New Idea," "The Church and Peace." Both of these really prophetic books we have freely used, circulating many thousand copies of some of the chapters in cheap reprints, where they can be distributed at conferences and assemblies. The proof of the impression they make is the number of ministers, who, having read them, write for copies to distribute to their congregations. It is very fortunate that we had these tracts by

our trustees, and these two fine books by Dr. Gladden and Dr. Jefferson, for thousands of ministers all over the land are looking for help along these lines. It may be of interest to note one day's request. The day before this report was begun we had requests for

- 1,000 "Women of England to Women of Germany."
- 1,000 "The Bible and War."
- 500 "Delusion of Militarism."
- 500 "United States and World Unity."
- 100 "Cause of the War."
- 500 "Why We Should Not Increase Our Armaments."
- 100 "Must We Arm?"

"All of these for use among ministerial and church conferences.

"Apart from the papers by the trustees, the committee has not published many pamphlets on its own account, nor distributed pamphlets widely, except upon request. Instead it made a very careful study of the whole question of publicity, consulting experts on the art of reaching the public, and focused much of its attention on getting significant utterances on peace, especially those utterances approaching it from the religious point of view, into the daily press of the country. A thousand men read the daily papers to one who reads the religious press. We cultivated the acquaintance of the editors; we secured the cooperation of the various press bureaus; we asked a newspaper man to help us. Wherever there have been peace addresses which have religious significance we have endeavored to have them reported throughout the country. For instance, when Miss Addams returned from Europe she showed some of the committee the address she was to make in Carnegie Hall on the attitude of the people of Europe toward war. We were greatly impressed by its deep religious spirit, and we knew it had great news value. We seized the opportunity and immediately sent it out to every religious newspaper in the land, many of which printed it in full, and then sent it to several thousand dailies, in full, to be released, and had it reported in the New York dailies. That one address is still being copied around the country. A newspaper man, who followed its course, said, 'You got about \$1,000,000 worth of space in the press of the United States.'

"Several times we have done this. Another example is the reporting of the addresses of our trustees at Chautauqua

during the week devoted to 'The Church and Peace' (which was financed by a grant from the Church Peace Union). We had the addresses reported in the daily press of the country so far as we could. But after the work was over we had the Chautauqua reports of them printed on a large broad-sheet and sent to the religious press of the country. They were widely copied. This has been done in many instances. The addresses delivered before the Mount Morris Church Bible Class Sunday mornings, in October and November, by Messrs. Taft, Straus, Kirchwey, Marburg, Jordan, and Burton, we got widely reported throughout the country. We placed the addresses of Dr. Mathews and Dr. Gulick, on their return from their visits to the church of Japan, in almost every great daily in the country, and there was infinite editorial comment upon their utterances. We then sent full copies of the addresses to all the religious papers, and they were widely copied both here and in Japan. (They produced a marked impression in Japan, as well as here.) Another instance is that of the great International Peace Congress, held under the auspices of the committee of one hundred for religious activities at San Francisco in connection with the exposition. The Union appropriated \$5,000 to the committee of one hundred for this conference, and your secretary had much to do with the arrangements of its program and was present to help conduct it. The committee made elaborate plans to have it reported, with the result that we had the papers on the Pacific coast filled with peace addresses for the first time in their history. It is to such work as this that the committee has devoted much time.

"The committee has done much to interest the religious press. Whenever some particularly striking utterance has come to its attention, it has had galleys or broad-sheets made of it and sent it out as an original article to the press. In this way, to refer to just one instance, we got Dr. William Adams Brown's striking article, "Christianity on Trial," printed in full in several papers, just as we placed Bishop Greer's striking address before the Republican Club of New York on "American Ideals," in full in some religious papers and in part in the dailies.

"The secretary's pamphlet in the trustees' series assumed the dimensions of a book, inasmuch as he attempted to answer in it some of the questions continually coming to him from

ministers during this last year. Consequently he saved the Union the expense of publishing it by giving it to the Revell Company, who published it early in the year.

"It became apparent, the moment we began organizing the churches, that we must have a handbook of some sort to give to pastors and chairmen of peace committees in the churches. To meet this demand, Dr. Gulick wrote a very direct and helpful book—*The Fight for Peace*. We published this through the Revell Company, but obtained it at wholesale prices for our work. The demand for this book from pastors, as the movement in the churches spread, is getting so great that we may have to sell it. During 1915 we have given away 4,000 copies upon request, including 1,000 to our newly-created field agents. A new edition of 3,000 is now on the press. In general, the committee has confined itself to literature which approached the peace movement from a distinctly religious point of view. But inasmuch as we are, with the World's Foundation of Boston, the only organization distributing literature on peace, we have overstepped this bound occasionally where we found things of general value as propaganda and of help to pastors in their study of the problem. Your committee has been informed from credible sources that the various defense leagues have put over \$100,000 into print during 1915."

PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED AND DISTRIBUTED

THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

(A series of pamphlets written by Trustees of the Church Peace Union)

NOTE No. 1.—"The Cause of the War," Jefferson, was originally published in 1914, at which time 12,000 copies were used. All the other pamphlets in this series were subsequently published for the first time (in this series) during the year 1915.

No. 1.	"The Cause of the War," Chas. E. Jefferson.....	4,500
No. 2.	"The Midnight Cry," David H. Greer.....	11,350
No. 3.	"The Scourge of Militarism," Peter Ainslie.....	16,000
No. 4.	"Europe's War, America's Warning," Chas. S. Macfarland	13,500
No. 5.	"The Way to Disarm," Hamilton Holt.....	12,000
No. 6.	"The Church's Mission as to War and Peace," Junius B. Remensnyder	11,250

No. 7. "Might or Meekness," Wm. P. Merrill.....	11,000
No. 8. "The Church and the Ideal," Wm. Lawrence.....	11,000
No. 9. "American and the Asiatic World," Shailer Mathews.....	11,000
No. 10. "America, Christianity and Peace," etc., James Cardinal Gibbons	11,000
"American Ideals" (500). A symposium of addresses by Bishop Greer, Dr. Lynch, Dr. Walsh, Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie, Oswald G. Villard, etc.	
"After the War—What? A Plea for a League of Peace,"	
Irving Fisher	11,800
Address of Miss Jane Addams at Carnegie Hall, July 9, 1915..	18,000
"Delusion of Militarism," Chas. E. Jefferson.....	4,000
"Battle Cry of the Mothers," Angela Morgan (originally printed in 1914 at Mrs. Carnegie's request).....	56,000
"Children of America's Fund. A Grave Danger to America's Twenty Million Children"	12,000
"Women of England to the Women of Germany and Austria".	15,000
"Churches and the Crisis," Edwin D. Mead.....	21,300
"Christianity on Trial," Wm. A. Brown.....	5,000
"American Churches and the European War." A Message from The Church Peace Union.....	13,000
"The Church and Peace," Chas. E. Jefferson. One of the chapters in <i>Christianity and International Peace</i>	10,000
Pamphlets distributed, but not published, by The Church Peace Union.	
"New Year's Greetings from Andrew Carnegie".....	11,000
"Towards the Peace That Shall Last," <i>Survey</i> article.....	15,000
"Must We Arm?" Hillquit.....	1,000
Books sent out in large quantities, or used very often as publicity literature, and especially for writers of prize essays.	
<i>Christ or Napoleon</i> , Peter Ainslie.....	50
<i>Christianity and International Peace</i> , Jefferson	70
<i>The Fight for Peace</i> , Gulick (paper edition, sent to many ministers)	4,000
<i>The Last War</i> , Lynch.....	214
<i>The Great War</i> . Six sermons. Washington Gladden.....	500

THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES

This committee consists of Dr. Macfarland (chairman), Mathews, Wilson, Jefferson, Ainslie, Merrill, and Lynch (secretary). The work of this committee has attracted much

attention, because the results have been concrete and somewhat immediate.

The work, which has been under the administration of the secretary of the Peace Union, has followed four lines of procedure:

1. The distribution of educational handbooks, mainly for the use of church classes, especial use being made of the handbook prepared at our request for the use of pastors, class leaders and Sunday-school teachers, entitled, *The Fight for Peace*;

2. The distribution of the lessons of the Gospel of the Kingdom series for use especially in brotherhoods and church classes;

3. The preparation and distribution of peace songs for the use of Sunday-schools and church congregations;

4. Cooperation with various religious and secular organizations for the introduction of proper teaching in both secondary schools and higher institutions of learning;

5. The preparation of Sunday-school lessons on international peace and their distribution through the denominations for use in Sunday-schools.

The following statement more in detail will indicate unusual progress in this, one of the most fundamental of our tasks:

1. Acting as the field secretary of the World Alliance of the Churches for International Friendship, adult classes have been organized in various parts of the country, especially on the Pacific Coast, by the Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, Secretary of the World Alliance. In this interest we have distributed about 4,000 copies of the handbook for leaders and teachers entitled, *The Fight for Peace*. This work has been taken up by various denominational conferences and associations, and through them an effort is being made to reach the individual churches. We have also been in constant correspondence with the various local federations of churches in the interest of peace study campaigns in the churches of those federations, as well as with 1,000 leading pastors.

In addition to this, in connection with the campaign on the Pacific Coast, the committee has distributed about 1,000 copies of the report by Professor H. A. Millis, entitled, *The Japanese Problem in the United States*.

2. A series of lessons particularly designed for brother-

hoods, men's classes, and other adult classes, entitled, "The Coming New World Life," was issued monthly by the American Institute of Social Service.

A special edition of 10,000 copies of the January, 1915, issue of these lessons was sent to a selected list of pastors throughout the United States and resulted in a considerable increase in the use of these lessons. In this matter we co-operated with the American Institute of Social Service.

3. In cooperation with the National Peace Song Committee we assisted in the distribution of "The Ten Peace Songs" for use in Sunday-schools and churches. This we did through the various denominational and Sunday-school editors.

4. Approaches have been made to the various religious and secular educational associations for the appropriate introduction of Studies on International Peace in our secular and higher institutions of learning, although it is impossible at this time to tell how far we may have influenced this situation.

5. Perhaps the most significant work of the entire year has been the introduction of Sunday-school lessons on international peace.

This matter was entrusted to a special committee made up of representatives of various denominational Sunday-school and educational societies. The various agencies approached were:

- (1) The new International Lesson Committee.
- (2) The Committee on Lesson Courses of the Sunday School Council.
- (3) The Lesson Committee and Committee on Curriculum of various denominations affiliated with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and other religious bodies.
- (4) Denominational Publishing Houses.
- (5) Sunday School Editors, Secretaries, and Governing Boards of various denominations officially represented in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and other religious bodies.

The work of this special committee in preparing a course of study for Sunday-schools has already been described (Vol. 1, pp. 85-87) in connection with the report of the Federal Council Commission on Christian Education, and therefore need not be repeated here.

Realizing that the Sunday-school teachers themselves and other teachers of classes would need instruction, it was

deemed best to prepare an adequate handbook for teachers. It is entitled, *Selected Quotations on Peace and War*. Of this attractive volume of 540 pages, containing 1,000 selected utterances from the writings of 200 authors, 3,000 copies have been printed.

In connection with the preparation for publication of the foregoing literature we furnished to denominational editors of Sunday-school and other publications a large variety of editorial paragraphs referring in part specially to the course of lessons offered, and in part to the larger issues and ideals involved. This material was used extensively and by a larger number of denominations and publications than were able to use the Peace Lessons in full. A careful estimate of the circulation of this editorial material, counted in total number of printed pages, indicates that not less than 4,000,000 pages, of about 800 words to the page, were distributed.

Altogether, that is, including everything, the total number of pages of peace literature circulated through denominational channels under the plan of cooperation as set forth above, has reached the grand total of approximately 42,000,000, again counting 800 words to the page.

If we had undertaken to print and distribute the same literature without the cooperation of the denominational editors and publishers and without the use of the current denominational publications entitled to second-class postage, the expense for the work accomplished this year would, according to a conservative estimate, have been approximately \$40,000, provided the mailing lists of 2,000,000 recipients had been available, and provided further that the postage had not exceeded one cent for each such recipient. The aid and cooperation of the denominational editors and publishers not only gave to us the privileges of second-class postage rates, but relieved us of all but a very nominal participation in the expense of publication.

In this important work we have been able to secure at very moderate expense, and in some cases without any expense at all, the expert services of such editors and writers as Professor Norman E. Richardson of Boston University, Rev. Henry H. Meyer, editor of Sunday-school publications of the Methodist Church and secretary of the commission on Christian Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Rev. Benjamin S. Winchester of the

Congregational Sunday School and Publication Society, Rev. Francis E. Clark of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, Mr. Charles H. Levermore of the World Peace Foundation, Rev. W. K. Thomas of the Society of Friends, Rev. P. H. J. Lerrigo of the Baptist Church, and the secretaries of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and its commission on Christian Education.

This work is all the more significant when we remind ourselves of the difficulty in getting material of this kind into regular quarterlies and other publications which are necessarily prepared and printed long in advance of their use. By pushing the matter, however, we were enabled to accomplish this above-named distribution by October 1st.

We should now continue to push this matter until these peace lessons appear in the Sunday-school quarterlies of all the various denominations, which would mean the distribution of many millions of them.

We should also continue to further the work of organizing church classes with *The Fight for Peace* as a handbook.

The Church Peace Union Committee on Education should also push toward a conclusion its negotiation with the other bodies relative to instruction in secondary and higher institutions of learning.

Your secretary believes that the \$10,000 appropriated and expended under the direction of the Church Peace Union Committee on Education is one of the best investments we have made for the year. It has involved wide correspondence and many conferences and meetings during the year, but it has been worth all it has cost.

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO IN CONNECTION WITH THE PANAMA EXPOSITION

In 1914 the Church Peace Union made an appropriation of \$5,000 for the committee of one hundred for Religious Work in connection with the Panama Exposition. It was the original intention of this committee to hold weekly peace meetings in the Tabernacle, which was built near the Exposition grounds. It seemed wiser, however, to center efforts in one week of meetings which should bring to San Francisco some of the ablest speakers, and should make a strong and lasting impression upon the Pacific Coast. Consequently the

International Peace Congress was organized for October 10, 11, 12, and 13. It proved a marked success. Your secretary was invited to cooperate in the congress, and the making of the program was largely left in his hands. It seemed to him, that inasmuch as the Church Peace Union was financing the congress, and as the committee of one hundred was responsible for it, that the religious aspect of the peace problem should receive chief emphasis. This was foremost in our minds in making up the program. In the sessions, which were held in the Tabernacle, the Berkeley Oval, the Exposition Festival Hall, and the Civic Auditorium, the religious note was emphasized and many of the California churches held peace services on the opening Sunday. The Northern and Southern Federation of the Churches also held peace meetings in conjunction with the congress. Rev. H. H. Bell, D.D., and Rev. Robert C. Root had charge of the actual preparations and conduct of the congress and did a fine piece of work. Dr. David Starr Jordan was president. Dr. Gulick, Dr. Macfarland, and your secretary were present through all the sessions and spoke daily. Among the clergymen who took part were: Rev. Francis J. Horn, D.D., Rev. Edward L. Parsons, D.D., Rev. James A. McDonald, LL.D., Rev. Matt S. Hughes, D.D., Rev. H. B. Johnson, D.D., Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, D.D., Roman Catholic Archbishop of San Francisco; Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, Ph.D., Rt. Rev. William Ford Nichols, D.D., Protestant Episcopal Bishop of San Francisco; Rev. E. A. Wicher, D.D., and Rev. Edwin Holt Hughes, D.D., Methodist Episcopal Bishop in San Francisco. Some others who took part were: Arthur D. Call, Hon. Walter Scott Penfield, Herbert S. Houston, Senator Henri La Fontaine of Belgium, Louis P. Lochner, Edwin D. Mead, and Miss Chrystal MacMillan. The place of the church in bringing in the new order where judicial methods should take the place of war in the settlement of disputes between nations ran through all the sessions. The congress made a marked impression on the far West, was widely reported in the press, and brought forth many editorials. It also proved of great help to Dr. Gulick and your secretary in the campaign among the Pacific churches which they carried on during October. The volume of proceedings is now on the press and will be forwarded to the trustees when published.

COOPERATIVE WORK OF THE SECRETARY

Although the Church Peace Union is a distinctively religious organization, yet of necessity it must cooperate with other agencies working for the same ends. Our duty is to organize the churches that they may bring all their weight to bear upon the reorganization of international relationships and the establishment of judicial machinery that shall displace war. Often we are called upon to act with other organizations toward this end. Thus, when the League to Enforce Peace was organized, under the leadership of Mr. Taft and Dr. Holt, with the purpose of creating a League of Nations which should pledge itself to settle all disputes by other methods than that of resort to force, your secretary, who was one of its founders, was asked to invite a hundred leaders of the churches to take part in its inception in Independence Hall. Ten of our trustees were present, and many eminent representatives of the churches outside of the Union. Doctors Remensnyder, Jones, and Lynch took part in the program at Independence Hall, and some of our trustees are officers in the league. The same was true when the World Court Congress was held in Cleveland, under the chairmanship of John Hays Hammond, Esq. Several of our trustees took part in it at the invitation of your secretary and rendered valuable service. The secretary participated in several peace organizations to a greater extent than he might deem desirable were he not your secretary, because he believes that the churches should be represented in these various groups and have a voice in their deliberations. For this reason he accepts the invitations to serve on various boards and committees whose aim is ours. During 1915 he has held the following offices in societies whose aim is international good-will:

- President of the American Scandinavian Foundation (The Neils Poulson Endowment).
- Member Executive Committee, League to Enforce Peace.
- Member Executive Committee, New York Peace Society.
- Member Executive Committee, The Cosmopolitan Club (Foreign Students).
- Member Executive Committee, Armenian Relief Committee.
- Treasurer of the Albanian Relief Committee.
- Secretary of the American Group, the Central Committee for Durable Peace, and Chairman of Executive Committee.
- Director of the American Peace Society.

Secretary of the World Alliance of the Churches.

Secretary of the American Group of the World Alliance of the Churches.

Chairman of the Program Committee of the International Peace Congress at San Francisco.

Member Executive Committee, World's Court Congress.

Member Social Workers' Group. (A small group, of which Dr. Holt is also a member, which meets monthly, with Miss Addams as Chairman, and which issues the pamphlet, "Towards the Peace That Shall Last.")

Member Press Committee, Lake Mohonk Conference on Arbitration.
Director Committee of Mercy.

Your secretary has also acted as general adviser for the anti-military groups in the universities, which have taken a high moral stand in their opposition to the attempt to lead America into that old-world path which has led Europe to destruction.

FREDERICK LYNCH.

PRIZE ESSAY CONTEST

As in 1914, so in 1915 prizes were offered to different groups—to pastors, to theological students, to members of churches between twenty and thirty years of age, to Sunday-school pupils between fifteen and twenty years of age, and to Sunday-school pupils between ten and fifteen years of age. Early in 1916 announcement was made of those to whom the prizes were awarded with the titles of the essays.

GROUP I

Washington Gladden, First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio:
"The Forks of the Road."

GROUP II

Harry Hoffs, Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Mich.:

"The Church and a New Internationalism."

Robert C. Ellsworth, Boston University School of Theology, Boston, Mass.: "Peace Insurance."

W. O. Blount, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.:
"The Psychology of Peace."

GROUP III

Pauline M. Follansbee, Malden, Mass.:

"The Substitution of Law for War."

Pearl H. Horth, Meadville, Pa.: "Toward Peace That Will Last."
 J. C. Sandall, Chicago, Ill.: "Organizing for Peace."
 Charles L. Stewart, Urbana, Ill.: "Democracy and Internationalism."
 Arthur L. Johnson, San Jose, Cal.: "The Problem of the Future."

GROUP IV

Edwin S. Fulcomer, Bellefonte, Pa.: "The Toll."
 Ruth E. Bixby, West Groton, Mass.:
 "In Time of War Prepare for Peace."
 Carl Conrad, Elk City, Kansas: "Discarding War."
 Harry A. Altenderfer, Pottstown, Pa.: "Arms and Armaments."
 Emory L. Murray, Pittsburgh, Pa.: "The World Issue."

GROUP V

Goldie Currey, Kensington, Kansas: "Annual Peace Day at School."
 Doris A. Kerlin, Greenville, Ohio: "The Return of Beautiful Avarilla."
 Eva G. Manderson, Malden, Mass.: "War or Law?"
 Oswald Hedley, Ashland, Va.: "A Plea to the Nations."
 Robert F. Elder, West Lynn, Mass.:
 "War and Its Remedy: International Arbitration."

SUMMARY FOR THE YEAR

The above record gives only the more outstanding features of the year's work. Reference to many matters has been omitted entirely because they are treated quite fully elsewhere in this volume, such as the work of the commission on Relations with Japan, the Christian embassy to Japan, and the Peace Centenary Celebration. The principal financial disbursements of the year ending December 31, 1915, will give some clue to the extent of the work accomplished and the agencies utilized.

Peace Commission of Federal Council of Churches.....	\$10,000.00
Religious Education Committee.....	10,000.00
World Alliance of Churches (British and German).....	20,000.00
Committee to Arouse the People Against Militarism.....	8,803.21
Prize Essay Contest (1914).....	4,980.00
Publicity Fund	14,085.21
Chicago Churches	4,000.00
Peace Centenary	1,300.00

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College Anti-Militarism	\$1,000.00
Panama Peace Exhibit	5,000.00
Cornell Summer School	1,000.00
Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society	1,000.00

These, with various sundry expenses for minor items, with salaries and office expenses, carried the total expenditures for the year to within a few score dollars of an even one hundred thousand.

IV.

Work for the Year 1916

The official and full report for the year will not be available until the beginning of the new year. A few items, however, may be referred to.

RESOLUTION ON INCREASED ARMAMENTS

Late in December, 1915, a resolution was passed that was given wide circulation through the early months of 1916. It was first issued to the press and then reproduced as an attractive large four-page leaflet with a decorated border. The preamble and resolutions were as follows:

Whereas, The world is passing through an awful crisis, and men everywhere are sorely confused in their notions and bewildered in their judgments,

And whereas, It is the duty of God-fearing men to increase in the world the stock of good-will, and to devise means by which the recurrence of the present world-tragedy may be rendered impossible;

And whereas, The United States, because of its position and power and traditions, is under bonds to do what it can toward the reshaping of the opinion of nations, and the molding of a new and nobler world-policy; therefore

Be it resolved, That we ask all the pastors and teachers and other religious leaders to bend their minds to the great task of creating and fostering a deeper spirit of racial sympathy and international good-will, and of exalting in men's hearts the divine ideals of human brotherhood;

And be it resolved, That we appeal to the American people to withstand the present demand for increased armament for the United States. We are already spending, each year, the enormous sum of \$250,000,000 on the army and navy, and if neither of these is now efficient, we would ask that Congress discover how the money of the people may be more effectively expended.

Upon the hearts of the American people we would enroll the duty of national preparedness in mind and spirit, that we may worthily meet the crucial situation by which we are now confronted. Military preparedness, having proved to be inadequate as a safeguard to the

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world's peace, we call upon men everywhere to renounce the policy of armed peace and to seek and follow a better way.

The names of the trustees were all affixed to these resolutions.

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO CONGRESS

In February a brief petition to the President of the United States and to the members of Congress relative to the policy of so-called preparedness was issued. It reads as follows:

We, ministers of the Churches in the United States, view with painful solicitude the organized and determined efforts to stampede the nation at this time into increased and extravagant expenditures for ships and guns, and desire to place upon record our earnest objection to the committing of our nation to a policy of so-called preparedness, for which Europe is paying an awful price. We appeal to the President of the United States, and to the members of Congress, to see to it that the enormous sums already appropriated for the army and navy shall be more efficiently expended, and to bend the entire energy of our country at this crisis in human history not to the elaboration of the enginery of destruction, *but to the working out in cooperation with other governments of a plan of international organization which shall render the recurrence of the present world tragedy impossible.*

The petition, printed on a return post-card, was mailed with the following letter to 10,000 Protestant and Hebrew clergymen throughout the country.

DEAR SIR:

We, who have signed the enclosed petition are sending it to you because so many of the brethren to whom we have shown it have expressed a desire to sign it.

Our reasons for signing it are largely comprehended in the literature which accompanies this letter.

If the petition expresses your feeling on this subject will you please sign the enclosed, addressed postal card, adding to your name the church you serve, or the office you hold and your post-office address.

Yours very truly,
(Signed)

Peter Ainslie, Minister Christian Temple, Baltimore, Maryland.
George Alexander, Minister The Presbyterian Church, University Place, New York City.

- Henry S. Coffin, Pastor Madison Ave. Presbyterian Church, New York City.
- A. Z. Conrad, Pastor Park Ave. Congregational Church, Boston, Mass.
- Charles F. Dole, Minister First Congregational Church, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
- Anthony H. Evans, Pastor West Park Presbyterian Church, New York City.
- Washington Gladden, Pastor Emeritus First Congregational Church, Columbus, O.
- David H. Greer, Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of New York.
- Frank Oliver Hall, Pastor Church of the Divine Paternity, New York City.
- John Haynes Holmes, Minister Church of the Messiah, New York City.
- Robert E. Hume, Professor Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
- Charles E. Jefferson, Pastor Broadway Tabernacle, New York City.
- Rivington D. Lord, Pastor First Church, Brooklyn, New York.
- Frederick Lynch, Editor "The Christian Work," New York City.
- Arthur C. McGiffert, Professor Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
- Henry M. MacCracken, Chancellor Emeritus, New York University, New York.
- John R. Mackay, Minister North Presbyterian Church, New York City.
- William P. Merrill, Pastor Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City.
- J. Edgar Park, Minister Second Church in Newton, West Newton, Mass.
- J. Herman Randall, Pastor Mt. Morris Baptist Church, New York City.
- Junius B. Remensnyder, Pastor St. James Lutheran Church, New York City.
- George U. Wenner, Pastor Christ Lutheran Church, New York City.
- George S. Webster, Secretary American Seamen's Friend Society, New York City.
- Gaylord S. White, Professor Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
- Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Free Synagogue, New York City.
- Edgar W. Work, Minister Fourth Presbyterian Church, New York City.

On March 16 the same post-card was issued with the following letter to the clergy in Greater New York:

70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

March 16, 1916.

DEAR SIR:

We, who signed the enclosed petition sent it to you some time ago, because so many of the brethren to whom we had shown it expressed a desire to sign it.

Our reasons for signing it are largely comprehended in the literature which accompanies this letter.

Already several hundred signatures have come in and they are still coming in at the rate of one hundred a day. But we want the name of every man who is opposed to an extravagant militaristic program for the United States. For this reason we are writing you again.

If the petition expresses your feeling on this subject will you please sign the enclosed, addressed postal card, adding to your name the church you serve, or the office you hold, and your post-office address.

Yours very truly,

Rev. Peter Ainslie
 Rev. George Alexander
 Rev. Henry S. Coffin
 Rev. A. Z. Conrad
 Rev. Charles F. Dole
 Rev. Anthony H. Evans
 Rev. Washington Gladden
 Rt. Rev. David H. Greer
 Rev. Frank Oliver Hall
 Rev. John Haynes Holmes
 Rev. Robert E. Hume
 Rev. Charles E. Jefferson
 Rev. Rivington D. Lord
 Rev. Frederick Lynch
 Rev. W. L. Robbins
 Rev. William Hiram Foulkes
 Rev. William M. Carr
 Prof. Arthur C. McGiffert
 Rev. Henry M. MacCracken
 Rev. John R. Mackay
 Rev. William P. Merrill

Rev. J. Edgar Park
 Rev. J. Herman Randall
 Rev. Junius B. Remensnyder
 Rev. George U. Wenner
 Rev. George S. Webster
 Rev. Gaylord S. White
 Rabbi Stephen S. Wise
 Rev. Edgar W. Work
 Rev. Henry M. Sanders
 Rev. Friedrich Holter
 Rev. Henry M. Brown
 Rev. M. M. Ammunison
 Rev. George S. Payson
 Rev. James M. Philputt
 Rev. Howard C. Robbins
 Rev. Cornelius Woelfkin
 Rev. Maurice H. Harris
 Rev. Lewis T. Reed
 Rev. D. C. Abbott
 Rev. Henry J. Conditt
 Rabbi David Davidson

Rev. J. Francis Morgan	Rev. William A. Littell
Rev. Richard Earle Locke	Rev. Peter T. Mead
Rev. George C. Magill	Rev. Seth C. Craig
Rabbi Nathan Krass	Rabbi Samuel Greenfield
Rev. T. A. Moffatt	Rev. H. Feth
Rev. A. Frank White	Rev. John F. Forbes
Rev. David Baines Griffiths	Rev. William A. Kirkwood
Rev. Henry Utterwick	Rev. Albert E. Phillips
Rev. Herbert S. Goldstein	Rev. C. W. Bacheldor
Rev. Graham C. Hunter	Rev. James Lisk
Rev. Charles H. Schwarzbach	Rev. Richard E. Bell
Rev. Edwin Fairley	Rev. S. R. Stratton
Rev. T. W. Smith	Rev. Joseph Boccaccio
Rev. O. L. Hull	Rev. George Matzat
Rev. James P. Stofflet	Rev. William Schmid
Rev. Nathan A. Simon	Rev. C. E. Scudder
Rev. Thomas Tyack	Rev. George F. Bambach
Rev. Samuel J. Rowland	Rev. Robert C. Davey
Rabbi Max Raisin	Rev. Tracey B. Griswald
Rev. E. E. Weeks	Rev. F. Egger
Rev. S. Florena	Rev. Lauritz Larsen
Rev. E. A. F. Check	Rev. W. M. Hughes
Rev. George Iwing	Rev. Gustaf Anderson
Rev. H. Brinkner	Rev. Maximilian Pinkert
Rev. George H. Feltus	Rev. E. H. Trafford
Rev. G. O. Mousdale	Rev. Thomas L. Price
Rev. Harry S. Everett	Rev. Daniel H. Clare
Rev. Archibald H. Sutphin	Rev. A. C. McCrea
C. D. F. Steinfuhrer	Rev. James A. Fairley
Rev. William P. Bruce	Rev. J. Lewis Evans
Rev. O. E. Bookes	Rev. N. D. Bartholomew
Rev. James L. Atwell	Rev. George W. Allen
Rev. W. H. Fish	Rev. G. M. Owen
Rev. Walter R. Blackmer	Rev. Henry Anstadt
Rev. J. L. Amerman	Rev. M. M. Hanschalter
Rev. J. B. Armstrong	Rev. Henry Pearson Baker
Rev. R. J. J. Margolin	Rev. Charles S. Freeman
Rev. John Deans	Rev. J. H. Meyer
Rev. Fred William Burge	Rev. W. J. Schultz
Rev. George M. Eilsbree	Rev. T. Stuart Molysieux
Rev. G. S. Emerson	Rev. A. M. Hopper
Rev. Charles W. Shelton	Rev. J. B. Rhodes

Rev. G. F. Hulst
 Rev. Sidney R. Dixon
 Rev. E. A. Wasson
 Rev. Charles J. Pardee
 Rev. Andrew J. Martin
 Rev. S. O. Busby
 Rev. Wm. F. Barny
 Rev. I. Graham
 Rev. Charles W. Gulick
 Rev. I. McGay
 Rev. J. M. Haelzer
 Rev. George C. Williams
 Rev. Charles Kerr
 Rev. J. William Ryder
 Rev. J. C. Miller
 Rev. Henry C. Cronin
 Rev. Fleming James
 Rev. Baker Smith
 Rev. J. E. Patterson
 Rev. Joseph Schwenman
 Rev. John R. Pratt
 Rev. S. Rechnitzer
 Rev. Edgar A. Hamilton
 Rev. Allan MacNeill
 Rev. Walter C. Brewer

Rev. N. Harnis
 Rev. I. Lummel
 Rev. Joseph Roberts
 Rev. N. P. Crouse
 Rev. J. M. Hunting
 Rabbi Israel H. Leventhal
 Rev. Paul Martin
 Rev. N. W. Nelson
 Rev. G. Backhurst
 Rev. Frederick W. Hock
 Rev. Henry S. Potter
 Rev. J. Carleton Pelgrim
 Rev. E. Cowperthwaite
 Rev. Hugh D. Wilson, Jr.
 Rev. Charles Lee Reynolds
 Rev. C. Schaurer
 Rev. Ernest Caldcott
 Rev. G. Franklin Ream
 Rev. E. W. Duck
 Rev. W. W. T. Duncan
 Rev. John Dikovic
 Rev. A. D. Pfost
 Rev. K. K. Quinby
 Rev. E. J. Flander

The total number of signatures received was 3,600. The entire collection was sent to Senator Stone in April.

CONCERNING MILITARY TRAINING

In the closing hours of the winter session of the New York state legislature five bills were enacted into law that soon received the suggestive title, "The Bloody Five." To aid in the campaign for their repeal the Church Peace Union sent a letter to 3,700 Protestant and Jewish clergymen in the state of New York, with four accompanying leaflets consisting of:

1. Quotations from three of the most offensive laws.
2. The arguments pro and con as to military training.
3. "Objections to Military Training in our Public Schools," by E. C. Root.
4. Reprint of an editorial from *The New Republic* entitled, "Military Folly in New York."

September 7, 1916.

I am enclosing a summary of the bills relating to military training in New York state and in the schools, which were passed at the last session of the legislature. Together with this, you will find some of the arguments that have been offered on each side of the question here presented and an editorial from a recent issue of *The New Republic*.

A great deal of opposition to them is being manifested, not only on the ground of their content, but because they were rushed through the legislature toward the close of the session and without time for the people of the state seriously to consider them.

As a result, an organized movement to have them repealed at the next session of the legislature is being conducted, which, I am told, is meeting with much success and is gathering to itself many friends.

In view of the widespread debate that is sure to follow the effort for the repeal of these laws, it would be of greatest help to this office if we could know just how the clergy of the state look upon compulsory, universal military training for schoolboys. Would you not be willing, in view of the fact that our office will be asked again and again by legislators, clergymen, editors, teachers, and workers for and against the measures: "Where do the churches stand upon this question?" to write us as soon as possible, with the utmost frankness, your opinions? It is a rare opportunity to render a real service. The teachers and labor leaders of the state are also being asked to write their points of view.

Secretary.

SUMMARY FOR THE YEAR

The Church Peace Union has continued to cooperate with many other groups through personal activities and by larger or smaller grants in aid. It has also vigorously maintained its campaign of publicity in the publication of pamphlets and in the distribution to pastors and laymen of important literature. Until the reports of the secretary and treasurer are published the full details of the year's work cannot be described. Important financial aid has however been given to many peace movements and organizations, among others to the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, to the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches—both in Europe and America, to the Collegiate Anti-Militarism League, to the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society,

to the Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club of New York City, to the Anti-Preparedness Commission, and to the Cleveland Conference on International Relations for University Students—Section for Divinity Students.

Many important, though small meetings and conferences were made possible from time to time through the aid of the Church Peace Union. Special mention may be made of one that was held on September 26th at the Yale Club, more fully described in Volume IV. It was reported in the press as follows:

RELATIONS BETWEEN AMERICA, JAPAN, AND CHINA

IMPORTANT MORAL ISSUES CONSIDERED BY LEADING CHURCHMEN

American missionaries from China and Japan, with mission board secretaries and eminent Christian laymen, forty men all told, have just held a conference at the Yale Club on 44th Street, New York City, on the relations of America with Japan and with China. The meeting was entirely private in order that there might be the utmost freedom of discussion. The following statement, however, has been made public:

An informal conference was arranged for by the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in order to secure accurate information and carefully consider the great moral issues involved in the relations of America and the Orient and the responsibilities of American Christians in these matters. Such men as Bishops Roots and Lewis and President Lowry of China, Bishops Harris and Tucker and Dr. Dearing of Japan, Dr. Robert E. Speer, Mr. Mornay Williams, Bishop Lloyd, and Governor Baldwin of America were prominent in the discussions.

The problems considered dealt not only with the unfair treatment of Japanese and Chinese in America, but with the relations of Japan and China and with the question of America's right attitude in these difficult matters. It was shown that the alleged menace to America of large Japanese immigration has been completely solved by Japan's faithful administration of the "Gentlemen's Agreement,"—that 15,139 more Japanese males have left America during the past seven years than have arrived. The alleged clash of Japanese and

American policies in China was looked at from many new angles.

Three resolutions of general interest were passed. The first calls upon the President and Congress "to create a Commission of not less than five members whose duty it shall be to study the entire problem of the relations of America with Japan and with China," and "to invite the government of China and the government of Japan each to appoint similar Commissions." "If such Commissions should be appointed it is the opinion of this Conference that the American Commission should meet the Commissions of China and Japan in their respective countries."

The second resolution endorsed the bill proposed by the American Bar Association for the enactment by Congress providing for the adequate protection of aliens. Because of the lack of such a law the federal government is not able to fulfil its treaty pledges. The resolution provides for a Committee to bring this matter properly before the President and Congress.

The third resolution affirmed the importance of "establishing as soon as possible, a Bureau of Information as to Eastern Affairs for the purpose of supplying to the press and public unbiased and accurate information as to the progress of events in China and Japan and their relations to the United States," which resolution was referred to the Federal Council of Churches and the World Alliance.

The Conference closed after six hours of intensely earnest discussion and thought, with the conviction that a good beginning has been made and that similar meetings should be held from time to time where representative Americans from Japan, China, and America could meet each other face to face and exchange experience, information, and opinion with utmost freedom and frankness.

The complete report of this Conference on American-Oriental Problems is given in the volume containing the Report of the Commission on Relations with Japan.

V.

International Organization

Activities of Prof. Benjamin F. Battin, International Organizer, Sept., 1914—Sept., 1916

Professor Battin's work has proved so important that an extended account of it might well be given. The following brief statements, however, will afford a fair idea of the remarkable scope and character of his activities.

At the beginning of September, 1914, in London certain members of the International Committee suggested to Dr. Benjamin F. Battin, Professor of German in Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, that he should secure leave of absence from his work at Swarthmore College for the academic year September, 1914, to June, 1915, and devote his whole time to the work of organizing groups of the World Alliance of Churches in the several countries on the Continent. Dr. Battin sailed for America September 5, 1914, and secured leave of absence for the academic year; and after interviews with leaders of the movement in America he left New York October 3 for London, where his headquarters have been at St. Ermin's Hotel, Westminster, and 41 Parliament Street, S.W. A second leave of absence for the ensuing academic year was granted in October, 1915. By August, 1916, it became clear that Professor Battin's activities in connection with the World Alliance were to be indefinitely continued. In September he accordingly severed his relations with Swarthmore College.

In carrying on his work of organization he has made thirteen main visits:

First, October 19, 1914, to November 11; Holland, Germany, Switzerland.

Second, November 23 to December 12; Holland, Germany, Denmark.

Third, January 11, 1915, to March 1, 1915, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia.

Fourth, March 6 to April 25; United States, New York, Swarthmore, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington.

Fifth, April 29 to May 30; France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany.

Sixth, July 10 to July 27; Holland, Germany, Switzerland.

Seventh, August 5 to August 10; Holland.

Eighth, August, 1915, to France, Switzerland, and Bern Conference.

Ninth, September to November, 1915; United States.

Tenth, November to December, 1915; Great Britain, Holland.

Eleventh, December, 1915, to February, 1916; Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland.

Twelfth, March to May, 1916; United States.

Thirteenth, June to August, 1916; Holland, Germany, Great Britain.

The following reports show action in the several countries as reported by the Secretaries of the groups:

GREAT BRITAIN

The formation of the British Group of The World Alliance of Churches for promoting International Friendships grew out of various movements in Great Britain, the United States, and the Continent of Europe in the past, and directly out of the special Conference of church leaders called at Constance in the first days of August, 1914. Although war had broken out, it was felt that it was most important not to allow work for conciliation to be dropped, and the very fact of war made certain sections in the churches more anxious than before to do everything possible to prove their desire for Christian friendship.

A committee was therefore formed, provisionally constituted as follows: chairman, Mr. J. Allen Baker, M.P.; treasurer, Mr. Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A., M.B.; joint hon. secretaries, R. Hon. W. H. Dickinson, M.P. and Rev. Frank Lenwood, M.A. Other members: Rt. Rev. Boyd Carpenter, Rev. John Clifford, D.D., Mrs. Creighton, Mr. T.R. W. Lunt, Miss Rouse, Rev. W. Temple, M.A., Rev. J. H. Rushbrooke, M.A., Very Rev. the Dean of Worcester.

A statement was also drawn up giving the objects of the British Group as adapted from those objects decided upon at Constance:

1. To induce the churches in the British Empire to use their influence with the people and the parliaments and governments in the Empire to bring about and maintain good and friendly relationships with all nations.

2. To bring together ministers and laymen of all religious denominations in the Empire, and to enlist the churches in their corporate capacity in a joint endeavor to achieve the promotion of international friendship and the avoidance of war.

3. To form a constituent part of the World Alliance of Churches for Promoting International Friendship, and as such to cooperate with similar groups in other countries.

4. To take all such steps as may be necessary to bring before those who guide religious life in the Empire their paramount duty of teaching that the moral standard which governs the consciences of Christian men should regulate the actions of nations, and that international relations and disputes should be adjusted by peaceful methods and in accordance with the dictates of justice and equity.

5. To aid in the development of the national Christian conscience, and to promote all measures that will lead the nations to realize that the progress of humanity demands that the reign of law and the principles of love shall prevail in international affairs.

Preliminary steps were taken to enlarge the group so as to include some two hundred persons known to be sympathetic with the above objects and able to help in forwarding them. At the same time means of communication with the Continent were found, and arrangements made to keep in touch with the various Continental groups which were to be formed.

A general meeting of the Group was held November 17 at the Westminster Palace Hotel, where Mr. Rushbrooke and Dr. Battin spoke.

At the next meeting of the Group, held on January 21st, the following further statement of objects was approved as a more definite formulation of the work that it may do.

1. Communication with Christians abroad with regard to lines of practical action in relation to the war and otherwise by personal visits and by correspondence.

2. Inquiry as to steps proposed by other British societies which are considering the problems that will gather round the settlement.

3. Discussion in meetings of Group members in London and elsewhere.

4. Formulation as far as possible of principles which should be followed by those who guide Christian public opinion in relation to the terms of settlement.

5. Publication of some of the results of correspondence, discussion and activity in a paper to be issued by the Group.

6. Recommendation of the best literature on the subjects of discussion.

The suggestion in 5. above was acted upon and the journal *Good-Will* has been published monthly since January, 1915, and circulated to over 15,000 persons.

A wide appeal for membership of the British Group has been made to ministers of all Protestant denominations and the membership stands at present at 4,924.

Early in March a manifesto on "The Christian Attitude on the War and International Relations after the War" was prepared by the British Group of the World Alliance of Churches for Promoting International Friendship with the object of presenting to Christians in all lands a statement by the acceptance of which they might declare their views as to the attitude which the churches should adopt in relation to the questions of international morality and international relationships which have been raised by the war.

It was hoped that, by this means, Christian opinion might be focussed upon certain definite issues with such effect that it would influence the statesmen of the world when they are called upon to devise practical measures for dealing with the subjects referred to.

This manifesto is given on pages 79-83.

FRANCE

The organization of the Committee in France was completed at a meeting which took place in Paris in April, 1915, and which was attended by Mr. J. Allen Baker and Mr. W. H. Dickinson. The committee consists of several well-known men, and includes M. le Sénateur E. Reveillaud, Pastor Wilfrid Monod, Pastor Elie Gounelle, M. Jacques Dumas, and M. Charles Gide. Mlle. Miriam Reinhardt was made temporary secretary to act for M. Dumas.

GERMANY

In Germany, in April, 1915, some twenty leading theologians and others interested were invited to meet in Berlin at

the call of Pastor Lic. F. Siegmund-Schultze and the other German members of the International Committee, and there was formed a Friendly Circle (Freundeskreis), which will cooperate with the German members of the International Committee. *Die Eiche* is being published as a quarterly and has a wide circulation.

ITALY

In Italy the comparatively small Protestant bodies are at one in their sympathy with the decisions of the Constance Conference, and an Italian Group has already been called into being and representatives chosen from its various sections.

SWITZERLAND

In several of the neutral lands of Europe considerable progress has been made. An honorable position is taken by Switzerland, always to the fore in great humanitarian causes, and possessing exceptional advantages as a neutral land of divided sympathies in which the habit of cooperation between men of differing races has long obtained. Early in November, 1914, the provisional committee of a Swiss Group of the World Alliance of Churches was constituted, and arrangements were undertaken for the summoning of a group conference. This met at Bern in March, when all the Reformed Churches of the country were represented. The success of the organization in Switzerland is largely due to the initiative of Professor Emery, one of the members of the International Committee. Several circulars and leaflets have been widely circulated throughout Switzerland.

HOLLAND

In Holland there has been intense activity in view of the situation created by the War, and the "Anti-Oorlog.Raad," a society formed for the special study of problems of international organization, in view of the need of establishing an enduring peace at the close of the present struggle, has absorbed much of the energy of Dutch Christians. Nevertheless, the need of a specifically Christian witness has been realized, and a group has been formed, in which nearly all the churches, including the Dutch Reformed, have joined. The Revs. Dr. Cramer and H. J. E. Westermann-Holsteijn, the latter of whom is acting as secretary, have taken exceptional interest in the movement.

Under the editorship of Dr. Cramer and Prof. Pont, *International Christendom* is being circulated to the clergymen of Holland and to others interested.

DENMARK

The Scandinavian countries offer a favorable soil for the dissemination of the ideas expressed at Constance, and organization has been undertaken in each of them. Before the close of 1914 the Danish committee had been formed. The Rt. Rev. H. Ostenfeld, Bishop of Seeland, is chairman, and Mr. Holger Larsen, secretary. These, with the Rev. H. W. Koch, a delegate to the Constance Conference, are leaders to whom the Danish work is deeply indebted. Several pamphlets have been published by this committee.

SWEDEN

In Sweden Archbishop Soderblom, of Upsala, has given his support, and his strong sympathetic personality will attract all sections of the church. As is well known, the Archbishop's deep grief at the outbreak of the war, and his sense of the duty of the churches led him several months ago to issue a widely-circulated appeal to Christian men of all lands. With him are cooperating leaders of every section of opinion, including Bishop Scheele, Dr. Karl Fries, Senator Gullberg, Dean Rohde, and Principal Benander.

NORWAY

In Norway the advocacy and influence of Archdeacon Hansteen, of Bergen, have already secured a partial organization in his own district and the support of powerful personalities throughout the country, including several bishops and leading theologians; and in all probability before this summary is read the organization will have been advanced by several stages.

RUSSIA AND FINLAND

Specially interesting are reports from countries unrepresented at Constance. In Finland Dr. Battin found a ready welcome, but the conditions do not permit of public work at present; after the war it is hoped that a start may be made. Russia is, as usual, a land of paradox. Here the deepest disappointment and the richest promise are found side by side. Nothing can be accomplished for the time—that is one story;

everything is to be hoped later—that is the other. The awakening of Russia and the fact that she has her distinctive contribution to make to the solution of the problem of international relations must be counted most significant factors of the modern situation, and we earnestly hope that with the advance of Russian constitutionalism there may be revealed a people which will remember with pride the epoch-making act of its ruler in summoning the first Hague Conference, and will show itself resolved to carry through the work then commenced. We look forward, too, to the time when the great Eastern Church will be found taking her place with the Protestant and Roman Catholic communities in a united effort to impress a common Christian message upon a world that is far from hearing its Lord.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING, BERN, AUGUST, 1915

The question of the organization of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches was early presented by Dr. Battin to the foreign offices of a number of countries in such a way that no objection was raised to the nationals of each country concerned taking part in a meeting of the International Committee, and delegates of each country concerned expressed a desire to be present. The International Committee was convened at Bern, Switzerland, and held sessions at the Hotel Bernerhof on August 25th, 26th, 27th, 1915, and the following is the report of that meeting submitted to the several Councils.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

The Very Rev. the Dean of Worcester was unanimously elected chairman of the meeting, and after Professor Emery had welcomed the delegates to Switzerland and opened the meeting with a prayer the committee proceeded to transact the business for which they had been summoned.

Statements were presented by the honorary secretaries setting out the reason which had rendered it necessary to summon the committee and to limit the agenda to such matters relating to the committee's own work as might properly be discussed under the conditions of the present international situation, and making certain propositions as to the conduct of business; and thereupon it was unanimously agreed that

the proceedings of the committee should be confidential, that its decisions should not be final until they had been submitted to the constituent councils of the Alliance, and that political questions especially concerning the right and wrong of the parties to the war should be excluded from the discussion.

REPORT OF CONSTITUENT COUNCILS

Reports were presented to the Committee by Dr. Battin and by representatives from each country setting forth the work that had been accomplished in organizing the branch committees in America and Europe.

In the United States of America a group had been formed with a committee of which the Rev. W. P. Merrill, D.D., is chairman and the Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., is secretary. This committee, acting in close cooperation with the Church Peace Union, had taken over the special duty of international organization.

The Committee of the British Group, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. Allen Baker, M.P., had taken active steps to interest the churches in the British Empire in the question of international friendship, and the membership of the group now stands at nearly 5,000. It had published a monthly journal entitled *Good-Will*, which circulates among 15,000 persons, and it had prepared a statement on "The Christian Attitude on the War and International Relations after the War," which was issued to ministers of religion and which had received the approval of over 1,000 signatures.

The work of the Alliance in Germany had been advanced by the formation of a Friendly circle to cooperate with Dr. Siegmund-Schultze and the other German members of the International Committee, and arrangements had been made quarterly for the continuance of the journal entitled *Die Eiche* and its circulation among a large number of readers.

In Italy a group of Protestants in sympathy with the Alliance had been brought together through the efforts of Messrs. Landels and Giampiccoli.

In France Pastor Elie Gounelle and others had succeeded in constituting a committee including several well-known members of Protestant churches. The work in Switzerland had greatly progressed during the year, under the guidance of Professor Emery. A provisional committee had been formed and a conference held in March, at which all the Swiss Re-

formed churches were represented. The committee had translated the statement prepared by the British group into French and German and had circulated it widely among pastors in every part of their country.

A Committee of the Alliance had been formed in Holland and active steps had been taken by the Rev. Dr. Cramer and Rev. H. E. Westermann-Holsteijn, and a group had been formed which nearly all the Protestant churches had joined. A journal entitled *International Christendom*, edited by Dr. Cramer and Professor Pont, was being circulated among the clergy of Holland.

Similar efforts had been made in Denmark by Mr. Holger Larsen, Professor Amundsen, the Rev. H. W. Koch and others. Over 350 pastors and teachers had joined the Danish Group and several pamphlets had been printed. An influential committee had been appointed with the Rt. Rev. H. Ostenfeld, Bishop of Seeland, as Chairman.

In Norway a group had been formed at the invitation of Archdeacon Hansteen and the Rev. F. Klaveness, and out of 500 Norwegian pastors who were communicated with, 300 had joined the group.

A committee of interdenominational character had been formed in Sweden with the support of Archbishop Soderblom of Upsala in which Bishop Scheele, Senator Gullberg, Dr. Karl Fries, Principal Benander, and Privatdozent Westman were cooperating.

TITLE OF THE ALLIANCE

A communication was read from Pastor Elie Gounelle on behalf of the French group, drawing attention to the fact that the title "Alliance of Churches" was not suited to the conditions prevailing in every country, and suggesting that it would be preferable to style the society an alliance of Christians. The question was referred to the subcommittee, who, after giving careful consideration to it made the following recommendation which was unanimously agreed to, namely: that the name of the Alliance should be:

In English: "The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches."

In German: "Weltbund für Internationale Freundschaftsarbeit der Kirchen."

In French: "Alliance Universelle pour les Relations Amicales entre les Nations par le Moyen des Églises," and that it be left to the other constituent councils to translate the name into their respective languages as they find best.

PUBLICATIONS

GOOD-WILL

At the meeting of the British Group held January 21, 1915, it was reported that the executive committee had arranged to issue a journal under the title of *Good-Will*. This paper was published in the months of January, March, May, June, July, October, in 1915; January, April, 1916; and has now become a regular quarterly journal. The total number issued since January, 1915, has amounted to 100,000 and at present each number is sent to about 10,000 persons. The committee have reason to believe that the paper has been highly appreciated, and that under the able and prudent editorship of the Rev. J. H. Rushbrooke, M.A., it has served a very useful purpose. Although the greater number of the copies of *Good-Will* are circulated in England, copies are sent to members of the Alliance in the other countries in which committees have been formed, and portions of the paper have been translated and made use of in those countries.

DIE EICHE

Vierteljahrsschrift für Freundschaftsarbeit der Kirchen, ein Organ für Soziale und Internationale Ethik. Herausgegeben von Friedr. Siegmund-Schultze.

This quarterly periodical of the Friendly Circle in Germany for the promotion of International Friendship Through the Churches has been issued regularly since the outbreak of the war, sometimes in combined numbers. The editor has devoted certain issues to the particular problems relating to the work of the amelioration of the conditions for interned and prisoners of war.

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTENDOM

Organ van de Nederlandsche Afdeeling van den Wereldbond der Kerken tot het Bevorderen van een Goede Verstandhouding Tusschen de Volken.

This organ of the Dutch Council of the World Alliance under the editorship of Dr. J. A. Cramer and Professor

D. J. W. Pont has been issued in three numbers and will probably become a quarterly journal.

FREDS-VARDEN

Uogivet af Kristeligt Fredsforbund.

Announcements and descriptions of the work undertaken by the Danish Group have appeared in *Freds-Varden*, the organ of the Christian Peace Society of Denmark, the editor of which, librarian Holger Larsen is also the secretary of the Danish Council.

The American Council has not yet published a regular journal but has made use of the general religious press and the leading weekly journals such as the *Christian Work*, the *Congregationalist* and the *Independent*.

The periodicals devoted to pacifist movement in all countries such as the *Advocate of Peace*, the *Friedens-Warte*, *La Mouvement Pacifiste*, the *Commonweal*, have devoted space to manifestos and accounts of the World Alliance and its constituent councils.

SPECIAL VISITS OF DR. BATTIN DURING JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER, 1915

On the 24th and 25th of June, 1915, a peace conference was held at Devonshire Meeting House, London, under the auspices of the Religious Society of Friends, which was attended by a large number of the members of the Society of Friends and of representatives of the main peace organizations of Great Britain. At this meeting Dr. Battin, as substitute for Jane Addams, presented a plan of a Conference of Neutral Powers for the purpose of continuous mediation. The idea took strong hold of the conference and the executive committee requested the Society of Friends to take official action in bringing the subject of such a conference before a neutral government.

In early July Dr. Battin presented the same matter before the Meeting of Sufferings, or executive committee of the Religious Society of Friends of London, with the result that this official body appointed the clerk or president, of the Society, John Henry Barlow, and Sir John Pease Fry, a deputation to proceed to the government of the Netherlands and lay before the Minister for Foreign Affairs the plan for such a conference; and Dr. Battin was especially invited to accompany this deputation.

The deputation was received cordially by the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister of the Netherlands government, and in the course of the conference the desire was expressed that Dr. Battin should carry the same message to the Foreign Ministers at Berlin and Bern. Through the assistance of Dr. Seigmund-Schultze arrangements were made for the interview with the Foreign Minister at Berlin. Before this took place Dr. Battin had proceeded to Berne, Switzerland, to confer with the President of the Swiss Republic and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The return from Switzerland was made via Karlsruhe, where the proposition was placed before Her Royal Highness, The Grand Duchess Luise, and Admiral von Eisendecher. At Berlin there was a long and frank conference with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Dr. Battin returned from Berlin to The Hague, and reported to the Prime Minister and foreign Minister. On his return to London he was, through the kindness of the Bishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Creighton, immediately received by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The question of a brief trip to Washington was considered, but after a conference with Ambassador Page, Dr. Battin decided to leave the visit to Washington until his return in September. He returned in early August to The Hague to see the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, and with certain new information was received again in London by the Secretary of State. On his way, in August, to and from Bern, Switzerland, Dr. Battin saw certain governmental authorities in Paris. Arriving in America on September 12th, an interview was requested from President Wilson and granted for September 21st.

An intimation that Dr. Battin's services would be of value to the Netherlands government in reference to a Conference of Neutral Powers on Mediation was received through Dr. Aletta Jacobs, of Amsterdam, in a cablegram of October 23d and a letter.

A somewhat detailed report of these confidential visits and their relation to the general work of the World Alliance of Churches and the Church Peace Union was made by Dr. Battin to the members of the American Group at the home of Rev. W. P. Merrill on November 3d, 1915. In all the interviews with governmental officials Dr. Battin laid stress on the religious character of the mission on behalf of the World Alliance of Churches, and a general appreciation was ex-

pressed of the method of securing and communicating the views of the governments; and all of the government officials abroad requested Dr. Battin to return and report, if possible, in person.

In all his subsequent visits to the various countries during the past two and a half years Dr. Battin has repeatedly met the outstanding leaders in the respective lands both ecclesiastical and political and has thereby continued to render services of the highest importance.

Foundations have been laid, on which we can begin to build the moment the war closes. Certain ties, as that between the British and German churches, which seemed irrevocably broken, have been preserved, and certain passions already assuaged, even before the war has stopped. Professor Battin has also secured the confidence of the foreign offices of both Germany and Great Britain, as well as the confidence of the heads of the churches. The conference held in Switzerland, in Bern, was very significant. Letters we have received from Germany and Great Britain are unanimous in saying that perhaps the whole peace movement between those two countries has been changed from hopelessness to hope by that meeting. Professor Battin has returned to Europe to resume this work of establishing and building up new groups and trying to mediate between the church leaders of the warring powers.

Part III. (Continued)

SECTION II. THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE WORLD ALLIANCE FOR PROMOTING INTER- NATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES

This important movement is the outcome of many influences and forces. Among these, mention should be made first of all of the memorial in favor of peace, presented to the second Hague Conference (1907) by the churches of Great Britain, Europe, and America. In accepting this memorial the president, his Excellency, M. Nelidoff, remarked that, "too much must not be expected from this conference; it has taken nineteen hundred years of Christianity to give us the first International Peace Conference (1899) and this is only the second one that has ever been held."

Out of that experience, Mr. J. Allen Baker, M.P., who presented the memorial of the churches of Great Britain, conceived the idea that "the establishment of closer and more cordial relations between the British and German churches would tend greatly to bring about this aim of Christians—'Peace on Earth and Good-will toward Men.' On his return to England he found ready response. The leaders of almost every Christian communion were absolutely at one in the matter. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Roman Catholic archbishop, together with bishops and clergy of both these churches, joined with officers of the Metropolitan Free Church Federation and other prominent representatives of free churches in sending a cordial invitation to their fellow-Christians in Germany for a visit to England. The invitation was accepted with thankfulness." From May 26 to June 3, 1908, 131 German pastors, priests, and professors spent a memorable week in Great Britain, the report of which was published in a handsome volume, profusely illustrated.

A year later at the invitation of the German churches

about two hundred British Christians spent a week visiting their brethren in Germany. In due time a second handsomely illustrated volume reported their experiences and addresses.

Those memorable events led to continued and deepening friendly relations. In each country a Council for Promoting Friendly Relations between Great Britain and Germany was established, that in Great Britain having some 12,000 members, with the Archbishop of Canterbury as president, and that in Germany having about 4,000 members.

"This movement attracted considerable attention in America and at the request of the Mohonk Conference of International Arbitration, delegates from both these councils visited the United States. A desire was expressed for a wider federation on a world basis which should bring the churches of every country into cooperation for the promotion of friendly relations and the organization of Christian opinion."

In 1911 Dr. Macfarland, general secretary of the Federal Council, visited London and Berlin for a conference with the British and German committees, and it was arranged that the churches in the United States should enter the movement. All went well until the gathering storm began to cast its baleful influence upon those relations.

In January, 1914, a letter of great significance was issued by the evangelical churches of Switzerland, addressed to the Christian churches of Europe. The leaders in the Swiss churches felt the international situation to be so ominous that they proposed a congress of the churches of Europe. The letter cites the situation in the Balkan states and describes the enormous military preparations of the nations, both in men and in money. It then asks what the churches have done to meet the conditions developing so ominously. This led up to the suggestion that a "congress of the official delegates of the churches of Europe" should be held to grapple with the problem.

The proposal of the Swiss churches for an officially represented church congress did not meet with wide approval. Arrangements were accordingly made for two preliminary conferences, one for Protestant churches at Constance, August 3, and the other for Roman Catholic churches at Liege, August 10. The latter failed to take place on account of the outbreak of war.

From the invitation sent to those asked to participate in the conference of the Protestant representatives the following paragraphs stated the purpose of the conference:

A desire has been expressed by persons of various denominations engaged in religious work in different countries that an effort should be made to bring the influence of the Christian churches to bear upon the task of promoting amongst the different nations such friendly relationships as will tend to overcome or abate the sentiments of distrust and antipathy which at present endanger the peace of the world.

This task is one which requires to be approached with prudence and careful consideration and, as a first step, it is proposed to hold a Conference to discuss the question of the advisability of organizing a movement within the churches in the direction indicated and the methods by which such a movement can best be inspired and directed. It is hoped to gather together on this occasion men and women who hold important positions in the various Protestant communities of Europe and America, and whose influence, later on in their own countries, will render it probable that the movement will be taken up successfully in all parts of the world.

I.

The Conference at Constance

One hundred and twenty delegates in all had planned attendance on the conference of Protestants. It so happened, however, that the delegates from America and England and a few each from the Protestant churches of Europe gathered in Constance, Germany, on the very day (August 1, 1914) that war was declared between Germany and Russia. The Roman Catholic Conference was to have been held at Liège on the very date upon which it was attacked by the invading force. Needless to say, no delegates assembled for that conference.

Over eighty delegates were in actual attendance at the Conference at Constance, representing America, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. One pastor from Bulgaria represented the Protestants of that land. These delegates convened to consider their duty and opportunity in the promotion of better international relations. This was in truth the first international conference of Christians ever held for the promotion of world peace, but it was too late. The tragedy was on. The war lords were in control and Christians and the churches were powerless.

Emperor William, it should, however, be noted, had been so interested in the proposed Conference that, in spite of many absorbing duties, he sent his own special representative to the Conference,—Dr. Siegmund-Schultze,—and this had much to do with the success of the Conference. Through his aid, although Germany was under martial law and nowhere could six persons gather for a meeting, special exception was made for this international conference of Christians. On August 2 three sessions were held and steps were taken for the organization of a World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches.

On Monday, August 3, the Conference took train in a body on the last express out of Constance, slowly traveled down the Rhine, and passed out of Germany only an hour before

the entire passenger service of the country was closed. Reaching London, we heard the jeers of the world hurled at Christianity, and especially at Christian pacifists. Christianity, we were told, was a failure, was bankrupt, because it had not prevented the war; yet those Christians who wished to do what they could to prevent all wars were derided, not only as impracticable folk, but as ignorant of history and of human nature.

In London an adjourned meeting was held and decisions were reached whereby a committee of sixty was established for completing the proposed World Alliance. So far from being discouraged, the conviction grew among the delegates with the experience of Europe's frightful tragedy that the Christians of Europe and America must cooperate in large and wise ways and for years to come, in order to produce that mental, moral, and spiritual attitude in each nation which is essential to permanent world peace, namely: genuine international good-will.

II.

List of Delegates

The delegates from the churches of the United States in attendance at the Conference were the following:

Rev. Ernest Hamlin Abbott, New York City. Editorial Staff of the *Outlook*; Member of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Rev. Peter Ainslie, D.D., Baltimore. Pastor of the Christian Temple, Baltimore, Md.; President of the Commission on Christian Union of the Disciples of Christ; Member of the Deputation sent by Commission on Faith and Order to Great Britain.

Rev. William F. Anderson, D.D., LL.D., Cincinnati, Ohio. Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Cincinnati, Ohio; Trustee Drew Theological Seminary.

Rev. David Baines-Griffiths, M.A., New York City. Pastor of the Edgehill Church, New York City; on the Literary Staff of the *New York Tribune*.

Rev. Eugene A. Bartlett, D.D., New York City. Pastor All Soul's (Universalist) Church, Brooklyn.

Professor Samuel Zane Batten, D.D. Secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention; Associate Secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Professor Dr. Benjamin F. Battin, Professor of German, Swarthmore College; representative of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends; Delegate of the Pennsylvania Peace Society, and of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society.

Rev. W. C. Bitting, D.D., St. Louis, Mo. Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, St. Louis, Mo.; Corresponding Secretary of the Northern Baptist Convention; Member of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D., New York City. Pastor of the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, Brooklyn; Ex-Moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches.

- Rev. Howard A. Bridgman, D.D., Boston.** Editor of the *Congregationalist*, Boston; Member of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
- Rev. William Adams Brown, D.D., LL.D., New York City.** Professor of Systematic Theology, Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. City.
- Rev. Jonathan Day, D.D., New York City.** Superintendent of the Labor Temple, New York City; Member of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
- Rev. Samuel Dickie, LL.D., Albion, Mich.** President of Albion College, Albion, Mich.; Ex-Mayor of Albion.
- Rev. George William Douglas, D.D., New York City.** Canon of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine; Director of the *Churchman*; Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Christian Unity Foundation, New York City.
- John H. Finley, Esq., LL.D., New York City.** Ex-President of the College of the City of New York; Exchange Lecturer on the Hyde Foundation at the Sorbonne, Paris; Director of the New York Peace Society; Commissioner of Education for the State of New York.
- Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, D.D., Boston.** Pastor of the Arlington Street Church (Unitarian), Boston.
- Robert H. Gardiner, Esq.,** Secretary of the Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church on World Conference on Faith and Order.
- G. F. Gates, Esq., Constantinople.** President of Robert College.
- Rev. James I. Good, D.D., LL.D., Dayton.** Professor of Church History, Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio; President of the General Synod of Reformed Churches in the United States; President of the American Section of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.
- Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D.** Representative on International Relationships for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Professor in Doshisha University and the Imperial University, Kyoto, Japan.
- Rev. James J. Hall, D.D.** Director of the American Peace Society for the South Atlantic States.
- Rev. Thomas C. Hall, D.D., New York City.** Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

Episcopal Church, Boston, Mass.; Member of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Rev. John W. Hamilton, D.D., Boston, Mass. Bishop of the Methodist

Rev. E. R. Hendrix, D.D., LL.D. Senior Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Ex-President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Trustee of the Church Peace Union.

Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, D.D., LL.D., Chicago, Ill. Minister of the Sinai Congregation, Chicago, Ill.; Professor of Rabbinical Literature and Philosophy, University of Chicago; Trustee of the Church Peace Union.

Rev. George E. Horr, D.D., Boston, Mass. President of Newton Theological Institution, Boston, Mass.; Editor of the *Watchman-Examiner*; Trustee of Wellesley College.

William I. Hull, Esq., Ph.D., Swarthmore, Pa. Professor of History and International Relationships, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.; Trustee of the Church Peace Union.

James R. Joy, Esq., Litt.D., New York. Associate Editor of the *Christian Advocate*, New York.

Rev. Walter Laidlaw, D.D., New York City. Secretary of the New York City Federation of Churches.

Rt. Rev. Morris W. Leibert, D.D. Bishop Moravian Church; Member of Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Louis P. Lochner, Esq., Ex-Secretary of the International Bureau of Students; Secretary of the Chicago Peace Society.

Rev. Rivington D. Lord, D.D., Brooklyn. Pastor of the First Church (Baptist), Brooklyn; Recording Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; President of the General Conference of Free Baptist Churches.

Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D. Trustee and Secretary of the Church Peace Union; Editor of the *Christian Work*; Director of the New York Peace Society; President of the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

D. Willard Lyon, Esq. Secretary of the Committee to Promote Friendly Relations among Foreign Students of the World Student Christian Federation.

Rev. Henry M. MacCracken, D.D., LL.D. Ex-Chancellor of New York University.

- Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D.** Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Secretary of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Trustee of the Church Peace Union.
- Edwin D. Mead, Esq., M.A.,** Boston, Mass. Chief Director of the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.; Member of the Berne Bureau; Director of the American Peace Society; Trustee of the Church Peace Union.
- Mrs. Edwin D. Mead,** Boston, Mass. Peace and Arbitration Society.
- Rev. William Pierson Merrill, D.D.,** New York City. Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City; Trustee of the Church Peace Union.
- Rev. Henry C. Minzón, D.D., LL.D.,** Trenton, N. J. Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Trenton, N. J.; Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.; President of the National Reform Association.
- Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D.,** Springfield, Mass. Pastor of the South Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass.; Director of the American Peace Society; Member of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
- George W. Nasmyth, Esq.** Director of the International Bureau of Students.
- Bishop J. T. Nuelsen, D.D.,** Zurich, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Professor Panaretoff, Constantinople. Professor at Robert College.
- Rev. T. T. Richards,** Scranton, Pa. Baptist Church.
- Rev. Claudius B. Spencer, D.D., LL.D.,** Kansas City, Mo. Editor of the *Central Christian Advocate*, Kansas City, Mo.; Ex-Associate Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
- Rev. Graham Taylor, D.D., LL.D.** Warden of the Chicago Commons; Professor of Social Economics in Chicago Theological Seminary; Member of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
- Rev. Charles L. Thompson, D.D., LL.D.** Representative of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions; Member of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

- Rev. Ezra Squier Tipple, D.D., LL.D. President of Drew Theological Seminary; Trustee of Syracuse University; Recording Secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
- Rev. James L. Tryon, Ph.D. Director of the New England Department of the American Peace Society.
- Rev. K. Tsunashima, Tokyo, Japan. Pastor of First Congregational Church.
- Rev. James I. Vance, D.D., LL.D., Tenn. Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, Tenn.
- Rev. George U. Wenner, D.D., New York. Pastor of Christ Church (Lutheran), New York; Ex-President of the Synod of New York and New Jersey.
- Frank F. Williams, Esq., Buffalo, New York. Secretary of the Peace and Arbitration Society of Buffalo, N. Y.; Chairman of Church Committee of Buffalo Peace and Arbitration Society.
- Mrs. Frank F. Williams, Buffalo, New York.
- Rev. Luther B. Wilson, D.D., LL.D., New York. Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York; Member of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Trustee of the Church Peace Union.
- Rt. Rev. James R. Winchester, D.D., Arkansas. Bishop of Arkansas; Trustee of the University of the South.
- Rev. Cornelius Woelfkin, D.D., LL.D., New York City. Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York City; Professor in Rochester Theological Seminary; Ex-President of the American Foreign Missionary Society.
- Dr. E. R. Zaring, Chicago. Editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*.

On that fateful Sabbath Day, August 2, 1914, while all Europe was rocking with the tumult of armies mobilizing and starting for their respective frontiers, the Conference held three important sessions. The morning session was chiefly devotional. The afternoon was largely devoted to the consideration of practical problems. The evening session was given up partly to addresses and partly to the transaction of the final business arrangements necessary for the closing of the Conference and adjournment to meet in London.

III.

Constitution of the World Alliance

The Preamble and Constitution of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches, drafted in Constance and London and finally adopted a year later at a meeting of the International Committee held at Bern, Switzerland, August 26, 1915, and accepted by the American Council April 26, 1916, is as follows:

OBJECT

Inasmuch as the work of conciliation and the promotion of amity is essentially a Christian task, it is expedient that the churches in all lands should use their influence with the peoples, parliaments, and governments of the world to bring about good and friendly relations between the nations, so that, along the path of peaceful civilization, they may reach that universal good-will which Christianity has taught mankind to aspire after.

Inasmuch as all sections of the church of Christ are equally concerned in the maintenance of peace and the promotion of good feeling among all races of the world, it is advisable for them to act in concert in their efforts to carry the foregoing resolution into effect.

In order to enable the different churches to be brought into touch with one another, steps should be taken to form in every country councils of either a denominational or interdenominational character (as the circumstances of each case require), whose object it will be to enlist the churches, in their corporate capacity, in a joint endeavor to achieve the promotion of international friendship and the avoidance of war, and that for this purpose a central bureau should be established for facilitating correspondence between such councils, collecting and distributing information, and generally coordinating the work connected with the movement.

THE ALLIANCE

I. The Alliance shall consist of Constituent Councils

formed in accordance with the third resolution, and having as their object the object of the Alliance as set out above.

CONSTITUENT COUNCILS

II. Every Constituent Council shall appoint its own officers, make its own rules, and administer its own affairs in such manner as it thinks best suited for the requirements and conditions of its own work.

ANNUAL REPORTS

III. Every Constituent Council shall, on or before the 1st of March, send to the Central Committee a report of the work during the last calendar year, and the International Committee shall collect and print all these reports, and circulate them, together with a report of their own work, to all the Constituent Councils.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

IV. There shall be an International Committee consisting of members nominated by the Constituent Councils. A member shall hold office for three years from the date of his nomination, but may be renominated. The number of members to be nominated by each Constituent Council shall be determined from time to time by the International Committee.

NEW CONSTITUENT COUNCILS

V. The International Committee may recognize a new Constituent Council, and shall decide the number of members which such Council may nominate to the International Committee.

DUTIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

VI. The International Committee shall deal with all matters of common interest to the Alliance and regulate the general conduct of its affairs, and shall keep the Constituent Councils in touch with one another and acquainted with the progress of the movement. It shall summon a general conference of the Alliance whenever it deems this to be advisable. It shall elect its own officers, and may appoint subcommittees and delegate to such subcommittees such of its own powers as it may think fit.

THE BUREAU

VII. The International Committee shall establish and maintain a bureau with such officers as may be necessary for conducting the affairs of the Alliance.

ALTERATION OF RULES

VIII. These rules may be altered either at a general conference of constituent councils summoned for the purpose, or by the International Committee recommending the alteration to all the constituent councils and obtaining the written consent of three fourths of those councils to the proposed alteration.

REPRESENTATION OF CONSTITUENT COUNCILS

It was resolved that until otherwise decided by the International Committee the existing constituent councils shall be represented by the following numbers of delegates, and each council shall be entitled to nominate members to fill vacancies that may occur in their number:

The American Council.....	13	members
The British Council	8	"
The French Council	8	"
The German Council	8	"
The Danish Council	4	"
The Dutch Council	4	"
The Italian Council	4	"
The Norwegian Council	4	"
The Swedish Council	4	"
The Swiss Council	4	"

and that in the event of a member being unable to attend a meeting of the International Committee, the Council of which he is a member may appoint a substitute.

IV.

The Session in London

At the session held in London the delegates who represented the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America took action providing for a report and a declaration to be presented to the churches of America on their return to the United States. That report and declaration have already been given in an earlier section (see Vol. II., pp. 49-51):

In the two years since the beginning of the war and the foundation of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches the general peace movement has gone through many experiences. It has been subjected to fierce and unreasoning criticism by many even who before the war had been regarded as advocates of pacific methods and judicial processes for settling international difficulties. The preparedness campaign has swept the country. Many Christians and pastors have felt it more important to urge adequate preparedness than to promote methods for securing world justice through judicial processes and world organization.

The various peace societies of America, the Church Peace Union and the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America have grappled with the task in their respective ways as partially recorded elsewhere in this volume.

For more than a year the American Branch of the World Alliance took no special steps to enter the field of active work among the churches of America. Just what it might and should do was not clear. Drs. Lynch, Macfarland, and Gulick were the first members of the Constance Conference to return to the United States. Dr. Lynch promptly published a small volume under the title, *Through Europe on the Eve of War*. Dr. Gulick, called on for frequent addresses, dwelt on the broader aspects of the peace problem and on the duty and opportunity of the churches. These addresses resulted in the course of the autumn in his volume entitled, *The Fight for Peace*, published early in 1915. In this volume he outlined plans for nation-wide church work, which plans have led to the recent developments in the organization and activities of the American Council of the World Alliance.

V.

Utterance of the British Council

During the spring of 1915 the British Council issued a document of much significance, which was promptly published in this country by the Church Peace Union and given wide circulation. It is entitled

THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE ON THE WAR AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AFTER THE WAR

The following document has been prepared by the World Alliance of Churches for Promoting International Friendship with the object of presenting to Christians in all lands a statement by the acceptance of which they may declare their views as to the attitude which the churches should adopt in relation to the questions of international morality and international relationships which have been raised by the war.

It is hoped that, by this means, Christian opinion may be focused upon certain definite issues with such effect that it will influence the statesmen of the world when they are called upon to devise practical measures for dealing with the subjects referred to.

STATEMENT THE WAR

At the conclusion of the war there will rest upon the nations of the world a graver responsibility than has ever before fallen upon mankind collectively. The war has been world-wide. Few, if any, nations have been unaffected by it. Its horrors have made themselves felt in every clime, and its lessons have come home to almost every race.

THE PROBLEM FOR THE CHURCHES

The problem that will face humanity will be to discover by what method a recurrence of these experiences may be rendered impossible.

Among the leaders of thought in this matter none are more urgently called upon to express their view than the Christian

churches. The war itself has shown how inadequate has been their influence to restrain the forces that make for international strife. If any change is to come about in the social relationship of different peoples, it can only be by the Divine power making itself felt throughout the whole human race, and obtaining a universal influence over the actions, not only of individuals, but of the whole community of nations. It will be for the ministers of Christ's gospel, of all communions, to bring this message to the people, and to show them a way of escape from a system that has signally failed to bring peace on earth or good-will among men.

THE PROBLEM INDEPENDENT OF THE WAR

The problem of the settlement at the close of the war can be discussed apart from any controversial questions as to the causes or the immediate outcome of the war. Whatever may have brought about the war, and whatever may be its military effect, the discussion as to how international relationships are to be regulated in the future stands by itself and is not necessarily affected by either of these considerations. It will be wise to adhere firmly to this position, so that, in the discussion of this problem, men of all nations, of all parties, and of all types of thought, may help to throw light upon difficult points and to put forward such practical measures as will command the support of persons of all shades of opinion.

CHRISTIAN ACTION DURING THE WAR

At the same time the influence of Christians over the settlement at the conclusion of the war will inevitably be affected by their attitude during the war. By using their power to assuage feelings of animosity and ill will; to encourage prayer for enemies and care for their well-being; to refute calumnies which inflame passion; to allay bitterness by making known generous action on the part of foes as well as on the part of friends; to aid helpless and innocent aliens when in difficulties; to keep alive the friendly relations which may have existed before the war—by so acting they will do much to facilitate the task of the nations when they come together to discuss the terms of peace.

CHRIST'S PRINCIPLES APPLICABLE TO NATIONS

In formulating the principles on which to base new international relationships, the first which must be insisted upon is that Christ's principles should rule states equally with individuals.

Not a few writers have held that considerations for the welfare of the state will justify an action on the part of a ruler which in his personal capacity would not be permissible. Such a view is inconsistent with the Christian conception of moral duty. That which is wrong in a man is not less wrong merely because as a ruler he deems it to be to the advantage of his state. The contrary doctrine has already brought untold cruelty and injustice to thousands of innocent men and women. Its maintenance makes it impossible for any community to rely upon anything else than armed force. The eternal principles of right and wrong must govern the actions of states as well as of individuals, and it is the duty of Christian men to discover a means whereby these principles can be enforced so far as human imperfection allows.

THE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE AND FELLOWSHIP

It is clearly a Christian function to urge that, in the settlement after the war, a spirit both of justice and of fellowship shall prevail. Where one nation has wronged another, restitution must be made; but the mistakes of former settlements must be avoided, and as little as possible should be done which may rankle in the minds of future generations and make reconciliation difficult. The principle of fellowship demands that Christians should secure for nations as for individuals freedom from oppression and opportunity to develop their own characteristic life.

Secondly, if justice is to be made supreme in all international relationships, mankind must establish an international system similar to that which civilized communities have set up to regulate their internal differences. Many schemes have been devised for the peaceful adjustment of international disputes. The principle of arbitration has already been widely accepted and acted upon by the establishment of the Hague Tribunal and by the consent of all civilized powers to accept its decisions in disputes of a judicial character. In a few treaties such as those between Norway and Sweden, and Chile and Argentina, this agreement has been extended to questions of every kind, even those affecting the vital interests, the independence and the national honor of the states concerned.

In the treaty of 1914 Great Britain and the United States of America, who had already agreed in 1905 to refer all judicial questions to the Hague Tribunal, have covenanted with each other that all questions not susceptible of judicial settlement shall be laid before a permanent council of inquiry which shall investigate

and report upon them, and if possible adjust them before either party may embark on warlike measures.

Justice and conciliation are the two leading notes of the Anglo-American treaties, and Christian thought and endeavor cannot do better than build upon this basis its scheme for an international system expressive of universal good-will.

EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN TREATY

The principles of the Anglo-American treaty can easily be adopted by other nations. They may be made to apply to different pairs of nations, or to groups of nations. The former is the more practical method; but the latter would be the more effective, inasmuch as it would provide a means of enforcing agreements which former treaties have lacked. If four or five of the leading nations would bind themselves to settle their disputes in this manner, and would undertake to combine among themselves in any action that might be rendered necessary, were one of the partners to decline to observe the conditions of the treaty, this would provide a security against breaches of agreement which would not be attainable if only two powers were parties to the agreement. It would, moreover, provide a nucleus for a wider confederation. Other nations could join in the same treaty, and it might grow to be ultimately a world-wide bond, through which the Christian principles of justice and tolerance would in the end regulate the relationships of all civilized nations.

It may be that such a scheme will not effect immediate disarmament or forthwith make war impossible. But when once it has become recognized as an essential part of the comity of nations it must tend to bring about, and may ultimately achieve, both these results.

THE GOAL

An arrangement of this character might be made at the conclusion of the war as part of the treaties of peace. It might even be adopted by certain nations before the war terminates. If it were agreed to now, it would stand out as an example of what can be done by nations which honorably desire to live in peace with each other and to make the chance of war between them as remote as possible. Some nations would come into it at once, and others would enter later on. Its terms would indicate conditions of peace for the conflicting peoples when these should have laid down their arms.

Here, then, is a goal toward which the Christian church may try to lead mankind. The world is ready for an effort in this direction. The old order has failed. Civilization is again plunged into chaos. But, out of chaos, a new order may arise. It rests with the statesmen and the peoples of Europe and America in particular to erect a system of international life founded on justice and charity as revealed to the human race by the teaching of Jesus Christ.

SUMMARY

The objects to be aimed at may be summarized as follows:

1. That Christian principles should rule states equally with individuals.
 2. That justice and fellowship must be made supreme in future international relations.
 3. That all international disputes should be settled by methods of justice and conciliation.
 4. That the Anglo-American treaties should be used as a basis which nations might adopt for the peaceful settlement of their differences.
 5. That the feeling of fellowship and the desire for reconciliation should govern the Christian attitude towards enemies both in the conduct of the war and in the conclusion of peace.
- September, 1915.

VI.

A Leaflet by the American Council

On his return from sharing with Dr. Shailer Mathews in the embassy to Japan (cf. Vol. IV., report of the Commission on Relations with Japan) Dr. Gulick, in cooperation with Drs. Macfarland and Lynch, prepared the following statement for the joint use of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration and the American Council of the World Alliance:

THE WORLD ALLIANCE OF THE CHURCHES FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP

THE AMERICAN BRANCH

The Churches and Christians of America already recognize the necessity of united action that they may do their part effectively in the promotion of international justice and the establishment thereby of permanent world peace. Only by cooperation and collective action can they hope to embody in national legislation and international relations the principles of Jesus Christ.

The American Committee of the World Alliance therefore invites every American congregation to join this world movement by establishing its own Peacemakers' Committee.

The constitution, policies and program of the American Branch will be more specifically defined when a sufficient number of churches have joined to warrant the calling of a National Church Peacemakers' Congress. Till then the American Committee proposes the following Principles, Program, and Basis of Membership as a working plan.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

International Justice and Good-will are essential to the Permanent Peace of the World.

Nations should apply the Golden Rule to International Relations.

Races and Peoples should strive

To see the rights of others.

To give justice rather than to demand rights.
To overcome Evil by Positive Good.
Reason and Right should control in the use of Force.
Judicial Processes, Arbitration, and Conciliation should take
the place of War.

A CONCRETE PROGRAM

International Action providing for—

An International League of Peace.

A World Supreme Court.

The Submission of all international disputes to the World
Supreme Court for judicial settlement or to Boards
of Arbitration or of Conciliation, before resort to war.

National Legislation providing for—

Federal Protection of Aliens in America.

A more adequate Oriental Policy.

Comprehensive Immigration Legislation.

A Campaign of Education by means of—

A Peacemakers' Committee in every local Church to pro-
mote the study of the above Principles and Program.

[The proposed text-book for this study, "The Fight for
Peace," by Sidney L. Gulick.]

BASIS OF MEMBERSHIP

Congregations join the World Alliance by—

Endorsing the Principles and the Program, and appoint-
ing a Church Peacemakers' Committee for carrying
on the local work, reporting the name of the chairman
to the Secretaries in New York.

Individuals join the movement as regular members by—

Endorsing the Principles and the Program, and the annual
payment of \$1.

This Peacemakers' Movement
is endorsed by

The Federal Council of the Churches of
Christ in America, and
The Church Peace Union
Secretaries

Dr. Frederick Lynch

Dr. Sidney L. Gulick

70 Fifth Avenue New York City

This leaflet, issued on a single page 9 x 11, with a red border was attractively printed and has been used in large quantities—about 30,000 all told.

During the summer and autumn of 1915 Dr. Gulick was on the Pacific Coast in connection with his duties in the campaign for better relations between America and the Orient. The proposal to establish peacemakers' committees in the churches was presented at several annual state denominational gatherings. The following bodies established such committees:

Los Angeles Federation of Churches.

Bay Association of Congregational Churches.

No. California Conference of M. E. Churches.

No. California Conference of M. E. Churches (South).

So. California Conference of M. E. Churches (North).

So. California Conference of M. E. Churches (South).

California Presbyterian Synod.

Sacramento Federation of Churches.

Marysville Ministerial Association.

And many local churches on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere.

A Peace Congress was held in San Francisco in connection with the Panama Pacific Exposition under the auspices of the Church Peace Union and the Federal Council Peace Commission (reported on pp. 238-239 of this volume). Both Drs. Macfarland and Lynch took part in this congress and also in important meetings held in Los Angeles. Arrangements were made at this time with Dr. Gulick to become joint secretary with Dr. Macfarland of the Federal Council Commission on Peace and Arbitration and also joint secretary with Dr. Lynch of the American Council of the World Alliance. By this arrangement provision was made for the most complete cooperative relations between these two groups, their work being in fact identical so far as it touches the thirty constituent bodies of the Federal Council.

VII.

Enlargement of the American Council and the Conference at Garden City

Early in January, upon Dr. Gulick's return to the East, plans were entered upon for an active campaign among the churches. The first step consisted of an enlargement of the American Council so as to include members from all the important communions. The second step was to hold a National Conference. This took place at Garden City, Long Island, N. Y. The following report of this conference is taken from the pamphlet issued by the World Alliance shortly after the close.

The conference was held at the Garden City Hotel, April 25-27. There were five sessions, each crowded to the utmost with illuminating and inspiring addresses:

The sessions were opened by brief devotional services led by—

Rev. J. Ross Stevenson, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Rev. C. F. Woelfkin, D.D., Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York City.

Rev. Peter Ainslie, D.D., LL.D., Pastor of the Christian Temple, Baltimore, Md.

Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D., Pastor of the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. Plato T. Durham, D.D., Dean of the Candler School of Theology of Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.

The following gentlemen presided at the successive sessions:

Rev. J. B. Remensnyder, D.D., LL.D., Ex-President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the United States.

Hon. Henry Mitchell MacCracken, D.D., LL.D., Chancellor-Emeritus of New York University.

Rev. James L. Barton, D.D., LL.D., Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., Ex-Governor of Connecticut.

Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D., President-Elect of the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

The splendid addresses of the five sessions took up various phases of the following themes:

The Church and the New Internationalism.

The World Task of the Church.

The Church and the Oriental Problem.

The Church and International Government.

The Spirit of Jesus in International Relations.

The speakers at the successive sessions were:

On Tuesday Evening—

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D., General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Rev. W. H. P. Faunce, D.D., LL.D., President of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

John R. Mott, LL.D., General Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association.

On Wednesday Morning—

Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D., Secretary of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., Secretary of the Church Peace Union and Joint Secretary with Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickinson, M.P. of the International Committee, World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches,

Professor Benjamin F. Battin, Ph.D., Organizing Secretary of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches.

Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City, and President of the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches.

On Wednesday Afternoon—

Robert E. Speer, D.D., Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D.D., Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

Rev. Frank Mason North, D.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D.

On Wednesday Evening—

Talcott Williams, Litt.D., LL.D., Dean of the School of Journalism, Columbia University.

Professor William I. Hull, Ph.D., Professor of History and International Relations, Swarthmore College.

On Thursday Morning—

Rev. Gaius Glenn Atkins, LL.B., D.D., Pastor Central Congregational Church, Providence, R. I., and recipient of the Church Peace Union \$1,000 prize for Essay on Peace (1915).

Rev. James I. Vance, D.D., LL.D., Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tenn.

Rev. Martin D. Hardin, D.D., Pastor Third Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill.

A full record of the conference addresses would fill a large volume. As such volumes, however, have but limited circulation, it was decided not to bury the splendid addresses, but to give them to the press at an early date. Their spirit, outlook, and appeals were embodied in the Declaration and Resolutions given on a later page.

After the business of the conference was completed and all the addresses made, the closing twenty minutes of the final session were devoted to a season of prayer and supplication. The great task of the church in casting out, whether from individuals or from nations, the spirit of selfishness and of instilling the spirit of neighborliness and brotherhood cannot be accomplished by mechanical methods or mere considerations of utility or economic advantage. A Christian world-order can be established only by men of faith and prayer. It was fitting that this conference which makes Christian Internationalism its goal should, during its closing moments, wait in faith and prayer on him whence flows the spiritual forces which alone can secure the desired result. A dozen brief prayers following in quick succession voiced the yearning of all hearts.

VIII.

Brief Quotations from the Addresses

THE CHURCH AND THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

"We have come to the time of all times. . . . All European life and civilization is cast into the melting-pot. . . . We are living in a time of plasticity. The old molds have been broken and civilization will be reformed. . . . All things may become new if the Christian church will manifest the requisite leadership and will be seized by the passionate spirit of the sacrifice of her Lord."

"An international society which is very frankly selfish fails us in the trying hour."

"How to stop the war we do not inquire. We do not want the war stopped until peace can be established on a basis of justice. Our task rather is to understand the war and to work for the prevention of such folly and stupidity in the future."

"We do not need to come together merely to describe the beauty and desirability of peace. In fact, peace as sometimes pictured, as the mere negation of strife, is not in itself desirable."

"Peace that is a mere vacuum no man desires. Nature itself abhors a vacuum. I myself believe in adequate defense of the nation, even though I may not be able to define the word adequate in a rapidly changing environment."

"In all these countries organized Christianity . . . in its traditional forms did not shed its rays with sufficient adequacy to arrest this War."

"Where is the nation which can conscientiously say 'We have been governed by the example, the principles, and the spirit of Jesus Christ'? . . . The last thing that has been tried is the leadership of Jesus. We have tried these other paths and have seen where they lead."

"Love your enemies does not mean hate them, fight them, kill them. Can you imagine Jesus Christ, who embodies his

own commands, thrusting a bayonet into another man's side? Can you imagine Jesus Christ touching the fires that would scatter the limbs and bodies of men over the grass of Europe's plains?"

"We have got to change the opinions of millions of people inside of the Christian churches and along with it the dispositions and lives of the people. . . . It is going to be a great propaganda. We cannot make it easy. Nothing whatever is to be gained by avoiding the extent of our difficulties or the gravity of our problems. This is not an easy propaganda, . . . but it is worth dying for that it may be achieved in our day."

"Here is the church's opportunity. We must unite men on the great spiritual realities, and make them see that these are supreme. We must show men the folly and fallacy of a 'preparedness' policy which is concerned only with outward equipment, and counts that sufficient. But we must see just as clearly that the man or church whose only message is a protest against outward equipment, who counts preparedness in armament the chief danger, is standing on the same materialistic plane as that on which the advocate of mailed force stands. The church must declare and make men see that supreme above all questions of size or armament is the question of that spirit that is in a nation, the ideals that guide it, the policies it escapes and maintains. There is a spirit without which an unarmed nation would be cowardly and contemptible, and without which an armed nation would be a bully and a thug. Let the man who believes in preparedness confess, if he be a Christian, that he would rather see America unarmed and defenseless than unjust and merciless and savage in her might; let the man who opposes further armament confess, if he be a Christian, that he would rather see America burdened with a huge army and navy than greedy and fat and degenerate. And let both of them, while standing manfully each for the national policy he thinks right, stand together in the realization that above all things America needs the right spirit, the character that will make her a worthy part of the world's life. The Christian may be on the one side or on the other. But he cannot be a Christian unless he counts that spirit supreme over both sides in importance. 'Neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.'"

"The New Internationalism teaches the equal right of all

nations and races, small and great, to share in the world's resources, and in opportunity for free development, for expanding life. The human race is one and essentially indivisible. Its groups are indeed natural products of its history, but they are not independent in any absolute sense. The real welfare of all is bound up in that of each. We constitute a family of nations—an international brotherhood. We are members one of another—and none, however powerful, may ignore the rights and welfare of the rest, however small and weak."

THE WORLD TASK OF THE CHURCH

"The need of the world measures the task of the church."

"In the light of Europe's tragedy Christians are catching fresh visions of the world's need and of the Christian's task."

"This new vision of the task of the church is the vision of embodying the kingdom of God in the largest relations—of peoples, nations, and races. Righteousness and good-will must prevail not only between men in their individual relations of class with class, but also in the relations of nations and races. Nothing less than this can satisfy the Christian ideal of the kingdom of God. In the realization, however, of this ideal, the Christian church has its unique and indispensable contribution to make. The New Internationalism, we may safely affirm, cannot arise or become effective without the help that the Christian church alone can give."

"The church has to-day 'the opportunity of a thousand years'. The mind and heart, and even the institutions of Christendom are in flux. The destiny of the world for centuries to come is being fashioned afresh in the fires of Europe's tragedy. The passions, ambitions, aspirations of millions are aroused. Whence shall come the divine voice of guidance that shall direct men's minds to those universal and absolute principles of life and conduct that can alone safeguard the nations from fresh catastrophies? Who shall declare to the nations that universal human brotherhood is not merely a beautiful dream for the cloister, but a practical principle to be incorporated into the doings of the daily life—in business and in politics; yes, and in the relations of nations? To utter afresh this call to the world with a voice that shall be heard, and to show how it may be realized in fact—this is the opportunity of the hour which the church has not had for centuries."

"If the United States were to spend as much on well-

considered methods for international helpfulness as it spends upon its army and navy, a dollar for good-will to every dollar for military equipments, what magnificent results might not be secured?"

"The great work of reconciliation and reconstruction constitutes the great objective for our Christian churches."

"The one thing which has been our strongest asset of influence has been the relief work of America and the American churches."

"On the other hand our most serious weakness is due to the reproach in which we are held because of the allegation, more or less made upon the part of all the nations, that we are utilizing the war for our economic and commercial gain."

"Our best counteracting influence is and will be our work of relief. Again and again, men who criticize our government and our commercial interests declare that our common people and high-minded men of wealth have largely rectified mistakes in other quarters."

"Might we not issue an immediate call in this matter to the churches and to the American people? Our brethren abroad are saying that, while we may have been confused on the issues of the war, we have entered straight upon the one clear duty of relief, and we shall greatly strengthen our position and influence by opening this door more widely."

"Christian leaders all proclaim that they seek peace with justice, but has not the Christian church a contribution to make toward this end, without losing her own distinctive spiritual mission, and without casting to the winds her spirit of reconciliation?"

"The world must face the future with a sense of brotherhood in Jesus Christ that shall be able to rise above national, racial, and geographical distinctions, and be able to supplant the distinctions."

"Whatever institutions may be projected by a war-sick world, whether it be a league of nations, a world court, arbitration treaties, or councils of conciliation, the church should exert greatest influence in creating the sentiment that shall demand the substitution of judicial processes for war in the settlement of international disputes."

"Unless the nations go to the peace conference with a new purpose to enthrone the spirit of Jesus in international rela-

tionships the conference of the nations will not take steps worth while."

"Unless a new sense of brotherhood in Jesus Christ can be engendered in the nations simultaneously with the creation of such (peace) machinery, that machinery itself will fail of its high purpose."

"The church should play the most important part in creating such a new order of civilization that this awful denial of human unity and brotherhood should never become possible again."

"A world conference of the churches would be one of the most effective means of inaugurating the movement for a new order, an order where the ethics of Jesus shall be the guiding principle of international relationships, as they are already the basis of the relationship of man to man within the nations."

"The task which confronts the world just now is to bring about a real unity in the organized life of mankind. The time has come when the civilized world must take another and forward step. Humanity has mounted from clan organization, through cities and states, to federations and empires. It must take the last great and decisive step of world organization.

"Many forces must cooperate to bring about this result. It is in part a political development, in part a juridical, in large part it must be an economic development. It will demand the highest skill and the greatest energy of which man is capable along all these lines. To make world organization effective, an international court must be worked out, the problem of international policing must be solved, and—most vital of all—a way or ways must be found whereby the economic interests of the great nations may be clearly shown to be closely identified with the success of the world organization.

"In the case of all these movements, or developments, the church will be called upon to push and to help. World court congresses, leagues to enforce peace, and all the rest, will appeal to the church for moral and practical support. And the church should respond with all the influence it can exert.

"But the real and great part the church is to play in this world task is not in being a helper or adjunct in these movements. The church has something more than moral influence to contribute. Far more important is it that the church shall do well its own distinctive part in the task of bringing about

real and enduring world unity. What is that distinctive function of the church? As I see it, it is to give to the movement toward world unity a sanctity and a spirit.

"Somehow we must lift men's loyalty above their local patriotisms. That is the supreme need, if ever we are to have real world organization.

"What can give to international government, to world organization, that heart appeal, that power to arouse a loyalty that shall catch up into itself and carry over into something higher and finer the high and fine instinct of patriotism? What is there that can do it save the vision Jesus saw, The kingdom of God?

Against the pernicious doctrine that a sovereign state is irresponsible, because there is no higher power to which it owes allegiance, the church must assert uncompromisingly that above all kingdoms is the kingdom of God."

"Real internationalism, actual world organization, can never come and abide so long as men believe that outward force is ultimate arbiter. Men must be awakened to the fact that spiritual forces are supreme."

THE CHURCH AND THE ORIENTAL PROBLEM

"The church has two great duties; one is to evangelize the Oriental nations; the other is to Christianize the relations sustained to these nations by the nations which are called Christian. These two duties are inseparable."

"We cannot reap right relationships out of false conceptions. Until we get our relations right between ourselves and the Eastern world it is vain for us to think that we can make our policies right."

"We have listened entirely too long to nonsense regarding chasms run across humanity that can never be bridged. We must believe that it is absolutely possible to establish relationships of genuine international good-will and affection between ourselves and the Oriental peoples."

"We have got to believe that nations can love one another even across the Pacific Ocean. The Christian church must set herself to lead in that affection. We must not content ourselves with projecting the duty into the distant future or looking at the platform that lifts it beyond the level of our immediate and practical duty."

"Superior theology is no excuse for inferior morality. If

we have a clearer view of God than the Oriental nations, then we must judge ourselves by stricter standards than we apply to them."

"Surely we of all men ought to stand for the great conviction that there is only one race, and that is the human race."

"A Chinese delegate at the Edinburgh Conference stood before that great assembly and said: 'Men of the West, my nation has broken with its past, and we need your help in guiding our people into the new path.' What shall be our attitude in such circumstances? Shall we treat these other nations with jealousy? Shall we talk about the 'yellow peril'? You would find Asiatics talking about the 'white peril.' The pending question between our government and Japan illustrates what I mean."

"No one who is familiar with the trend of Japanese thought to-day is ignorant of the fact that intelligent Japanese feel that Japan has a grievance against the United States. I have no sympathy whatever with the notion that it is our duty to stand by everything that our country does, irrespective of its moral quality. Men have said, 'My country! May she ever be right; but, right or wrong, my country.' There is a sense in which that is true, but in the sense that the words naturally suggest, that is a pagan sentiment. I believe that the Japanese have a just grievance against the American people in the matter of their treatment in California. I do not say that I am in favor of unrestricted immigration, but the Japanese government does not ask for that. It is honorably carrying out the 'Gentlemen's Agreement.' The Japanese simply ask that their subjects who come to America shall be treated with the justice, consideration, and common decency that we would accord to other people."

"Let us remember that Jesus Christ not only taught an ideal, but died for it. Surely it is our place as his followers to see if we cannot attain to it. The foreign missionary enterprise is an earnest effort to exemplify this ideal. It is the antithesis of war. It stands for those relations between nations which would make war between them impossible. It says: 'Other peoples are our brethren. We do not need to arm ourselves against them, but to go to them with altruistic and helpful acts.' If the Church is ever to vindicate its mission as the bearer of peace and good-will to men, it must apply itself to this task with renewed effort. We must write the

name of Jesus large on the world's sky, make the voice of Jesus the deep undertone of human life. We must apply the spirit of Jesus to these international as well as to the social and individual relationships."

"America's crucial problem with Asia lies, not in Asia, but in America. Not our diplomacy in the Far East, but our treatment of Asiatics in the far West is to be determinative of our Oriental relations."

"The problem of world-peace is not primarily the problem of treaties, arbitration provisions, and Hague courts, but of mutual good-will and confidence among the nations. How can this spirit be developed? If Asia fears and distrusts Christendom because of continued injustice, Asia will arm. As Asia arms, Christendom will increasingly fear and distrust her. The way to establish good-will and mutual confidence between the East and the West is for Christendom to act toward Asia in right and helpful ways. We must voluntarily do her justice, keep our treaties, and deal with all Asiatics who come to our lands in ways that embody the golden rule."

"The international relations of nations, as of individuals, must be essentially Christian if there is to be world peace and wholesome development. Nations must not only be just and honest, but they must be kindly and helpful in their international relations. They must regard and treat each other on the basis of universal human brotherhood. This and this alone will evoke real good-will and mutual trust."

"On the right attitude of the West to the East hangs the fate of the whole world for centuries to come."

THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT

"The crowning duty both of maintaining international peace by the sword of some international magistrate and also of submitting to peaceful methods all international disputes, has never been taught or required by the Christian church. The day has come when its prayers, its preaching, and the action of its members should recognize the obligation of every nation to prevent and suppress aggressive war, as of every citizen to prevent and suppress riot. An International League to *enforce peace*, and its member-nations ready to use force to keep the peace, can end war, and in due time bring world peace, if the church of Christ in all lands and most of all

in this land requires nations, as in the past it has required individuals, to submit to law and to support the enforcement as a Christian duty."

"For the United States to arm to defend its borders is necessarily a narrow, and self-centered proceeding. For the United States to arm to act with other nations, in a League to enforce peace is to protect not only itself, but the world."

"It is the peculiar duty of the Christian church to see to it that the phrase 'the solidarity of the race' shall remain no mere academic formula, and that the motto 'each for all and all for each,' shall not remain in the realm of poetry and moonshine, but shall be put into actual practise."

"Mediation is rational in that it is based upon cooler, less partial counsel than that of the disputants involved in the quarrel. That it is practicable is proved by frequent experience in the two Americas, in preventing wars, and by its success in the treaty of Portsmouth, which brought the then unprecedented war between Russia and Japan to a close."

"International commissions of inquiry are also based upon reason, in that they are designed simply to ascertain and publish the truth about international disputes; they are simply a practical application of the reasonable advice to investigate before you fight, and then, in nine times out of ten, you will not fight at all. They have been justified, also, by successful practise, a war between Great Britain and Russia having been prevented by one of them."

"International arbitration is rational in that it is founded upon the undisputed fact that every question has two sides, both of which have a right to careful investigation and consideration. It, too, has proved itself applicable to the settlement of disputes between nations by a long and successful series of arbitral decisions. Since 1794, it has settled about 243 international disputes, some of which were of a serious character and long standing. Since 1899, a permanent Court of Arbitration has existed with its headquarters at The Hague, and it has settled fifteen international disputes within the past dozen years. Before this greatest of earthly tribunals, all of the eight 'great powers,' with the exception of Austria-Hungary, have stood as litigants; our own republic repeatedly, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Japan, Germany, France. One of its decisions settled a dispute between Germany and France, the rivals of a half-century."

"It is noteworthy that the rational and Christian method of settling international disputes by arbitration has proved so effective that not a single member of the family of nations has 'refused to hear' the voice of justice when proclaimed by the arbitral tribunal, or to abide by the arbitral award when rendered. If now, the Christian church can render effective aid to the international statesmen in creating and sustaining some such device for bringing international disputes invariably before arbitral tribunals as was provided by President Taft's general arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France in 1911, the most difficult problem of our time will be solved, and nations will indeed learn war no more."

THE SPIRIT OF JESUS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

"America's greatest assurance against disaster is to treat other nations right."

"If there is anything that is to solve the problem which confronts the world to-day, it is the spirit of Jesus."

"We shall never have permanent, lasting, and real peace until the spirit of Jesus takes control of the affairs of the world."

"The spirit of Jesus is equal to the task. It is big enough and broad enough. Christ's gospel is rich enough to fill our world. Every nationality finds itself in Jesus."

"The safety of this nation is in its character. If America is to be kept out of war, if America is to achieve a future worth while, it will not be by reason of large armaments. I suppose we have got to increase our navy and our army. I don't want to be a fanatic on this subject. I suppose we have to do this, although I confess I don't have any interest on the subject."

"The spirit of Jesus is something more than the spirit of justice. We have got to do more than give nations a square deal. The spirit of Jesus in internationalism is the spirit of mercy. When a nation comes and asks you to go with it a mile, the spirit of Jesus demands that you go twain."

"And when this spirit takes possession of America we shall not be thinking about commercial supremacy and financial gains which we may make out of war, how we can save ourselves from getting into war; but we shall be thinking how we can play the Good Samaritan among the nations of the earth. The spirit of Jesus is strong enough and tender enough

and appealing enough to solve the problem. It is the spirit of Jesus that makes the world great and good."

"Christianity is more than an ideal by which we are to be judged, it supplies us great positive and wholly adequate conceptions of peace."

"War to-day is such a tremendous and far-flung enterprise that it insists upon being judged by its own standards, and seeks contemptuously to dismiss all conventions and standards opposed to it. But war cannot so dispose of Christianity and its hopes. Christianity and not war is the final court of appeal. Christianity supplies us the moral standards by which an unbrotherly world is to be judged, and by the decision of that court our civilization stands indicted."

"The ideal of international friendship which Christianity supplies is big enough to meet the objections and quiet the fear of those who think of peace as something partial, cowardly, or unworthy. Christianity does not so conceive peace. The peace which Christianity exalts is not the peace of surrender but of affirmation, a peace in which each one has secured to him what is most distinctive and blessedly his own while recognizing the right of his neighbor to what is most distinctive and blessedly his own. Christian peace is the allegiance to something great enough to reconcile competing interests and hostile forces and diverse nationalities."

"Christianity offers us the method of attaining international friendliness. It teaches us that if we are to change our world we must change human nature. It assures us that human nature can be changed. It offers us the supreme forces which make for moral and spiritual transformation. We know as well as our critics that we cannot get rid of war until we change human nature, and we know better than our critics how great a task we have undertaken, but we do not despair. The whole enterprise of life is based on the confidence that human nature can be changed. The testimony of the past is that in great regions human nature has been changed. Christianity is in the world to change human nature and in the direction which we are seeking to follow. It avails itself of every educational and inspirational force, it deals very patiently with the wilful and the stupid, it addresses itself directly to the individual, it believes that it is reenforced by the Spirit of God, himself, so it holds itself bravely to the task of making a better world, of making better men and women."

"This infinite madness—this is what the world comes to without the spirit of Jesus Christ."

"How infinitely tragical is the earth's condition when we try to run this place without the spirit of Jesus."

"Jesus Christ called for an absolute devotion to his principles of love and of human brotherhood."

"Something makes me have a new faith in the great heart of mankind when I see the loyalty of the nations, able to go to the uttermost because they have been taught to believe it is their duty. All that we have to do is to believe in the ideals of Jesus Christ and the kingdom of God on earth with the same earnestness and with the same belief that has been behind the ordinary type of patriotism."

"What we need is faith to know that the Christ has incarnated those ideals for which the whole heart of humanity is hungering, and that only absolute devotion to him can make those ideals go on until they penetrate and impress all human relations."

"I am very grateful to have attended this meeting. I have found here a spirit which has helped me through and through. I have found here the conscious realization in the hearts of the men that we must know the power which will adequately cope with the problem that is before us. I have found here an absolute sincerity of purpose and unity of desire, no matter how we may differ as to some of the practical details that are before us; and I shall go back to my own field of labor with a new strength in my heart because of this meeting and a new hope and belief that the church of Jesus Christ may and will rise to her glorious opportunity in the great hour."

IX.

Declaration and Resolutions

Many resolutions and suggestions were offered regarding utterances by the Conference on the duty and opportunity of the Church at this time of world crisis. It was felt, however, that a brief declaration and few resolutions would be more effective than a long declaration and many resolutions.

Especial attention is called to the invitation of the Council to all communions in the United States to establish Peacemakers' Commissions for cooperation with the American Council of the World Alliance. Response to this invitation is highly important if this world movement of Christians is to succeed in its efforts to aid in establishing better international relations.

Attention is also called to the invitation to every local church to establish its own Peacemakers' Committee. Whether this World Alliance shall effect much or little in promoting active good-will in America toward other nations; whether or not American Christian citizens will insist that we must ourselves keep faith and good neighborliness with Asiatics, promote international justice, and establish helpful and constructive activities in our relations with all races and nations, depends in no small part on the response of individual congregations to this invitation to establish Peacemakers' Committees and to cooperate in nation-wide education in the principles and methods of Christian Internationalism.

DECLARATION

We believe it is time for the Christian church to speak and to act in the strength and assurance of a deep and full loyalty to Jesus Christ.

We rejoice in all the efforts which are being made by men of good intent to substitute judicial process for war and to effect world organization.

We urge the people of the churches to cooperate heartily in these brave attempts to take the final and decisive step in the evolution of government. But we know that all these efforts

are foredoomed to failure unless they rest upon a spirit of good-will and brotherhood and evoke a passionate devotion stronger than all limited and local loyalties.

In a time of disillusion and strife, when men's hearts faint and doubt; let Christian men believe and try to make all men believe that the gospel of love and faith and hope is practical, the only practical way of life for men and for nations, and that loyalty to the kingdom of God is supreme above all other loyalties.

RESOLUTIONS

Resolved, That since permanent peace must be ultimately based on religious sanctions, and back of all international organizations must be good-will, the American Council call a representative congress of the churches of the world, to meet at the close of this war, when and where the terms of peace shall be discussed, or in such other European center as may be deemed expedient, to consider how the churches of the world may help to establish a new international order and above all to insist that the nations of the world act toward each other in accordance with those principles of mutual justice and fairness which regulate the relations of good men everywhere, and that the carrying out of this plan be referred to the executive committee.

Resolved, That we call upon the churches of America to make sacrificial efforts to contribute for the relief of the suffering peoples in Europe and Asia without regard to race, religion, nationality, thus giving powerful proof of Christian good-will.

Resolved, That this Council invite every local congregation in the United States to establish its own Peacemakers' Committee through which to cooperate in this world movement.

Resolved, That the executive committee be instructed to transmit to all national ecclesiastical bodies in the United States copies of the resolutions adopted and invite them to take such action as they may deem wise in order to cooperate in this world movement, and particularly to establish, if they have not already done so, their own Peacemakers' Commissions.

Resolved, That the Council urge upon the churches:

1. Careful study both of the Oriental problem itself and also of the proposals for a fundamental solution which have been offered, including comprehensive immigration legislation free from race discrimination;
2. Such action as may seem wise for embodying in local and national legislation and in our international relations, the Christian

ideal of universal brotherhood, guaranteeing to all peoples, small and great, east and west, the enjoyment of just and equal treatment.

The following resolution was presented at the close of the last session and was referred to the executive committee, with power:

Resolved, That this Conference earnestly approves all efforts so to shape our pending immigration measures that they shall recognize existing agreements with other nations, and avoid such actions as would tend to imply distrust of such nations and impugn their honor. We deeply deplore all efforts that create or imply such distrust of those agreements especially when the nations concerned have reassured us of their intention to keep them faithfully.

In the light of this principle, we deprecate the utterances by or through the public press which would tend to embitter the feelings and injure the relations of good-will now existing between America and the Asiatic and other nations, especially such as, without evidence and by gratuitous assumption, impugn the motives and purposes of these nations in their relations with our nation.

At the first meeting of the executive committee, held immediately after the Conference, the above resolution was passed and ordered published.

X.

Membership of the American Council

Especial attention is called to the international character of the World Alliance and also to the widely interdenominational character of the American Council, as shown in the following list of officers and members.

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The members of the American Council are connected with the following organizations. They may be divided into three classes—interchurch organizations, the Federal Council of Churches and its constituent bodies, and other ecclesiastical bodies, as follows:

INTERCHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations
Laymen's Missionary Movement in the United States and Canada
Missionary Education Movement in the United States and Canada
Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions
International Sunday School Association
World's Sunday School Association
United Society of Christian Endeavor
The Church Peace Union

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Baptist Churches, North
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Congregational Churches
Disciples of Christ
Friends (Orthodox)
German Evangelical Synod
Evangelical Association
Lutheran Church, General Synod
Mennonite Church, General Conference
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America
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Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
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Reformed Church in America
Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Reformed Presbyterian Church, General Synod
Seventh-Day Baptist Church
United Brethren Church
United Evangelical Church
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 Salvation Army
 Unitarian Churches
 Universalist Churches
 Volunteers of America

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In order to secure prompt action and also to avoid the difficulties involved in the enormous complexity in organization among ecclesiastical and other bodies, the membership of the American Council was constituted by invitation and not by official appointment. *The members do not officially represent their respective organisations*, but as prominent Christian citizens and as outstanding members of their respective bodies, they do lend their moral support and wisdom to this movement.

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120 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS—PART III.

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INDEPENDENT

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INTERCOLLEGIATE

INTERNATIONAL POLITY CLUBS

George W. Nasmyth, Ph.D.

XI.

A Campaign of Education

To indicate the scope and nature of the nation-wide campaign upon which the American Council of the World Alliance has now embarked, we present at this point a brief leaflet which is being sent broadcast over the country. Especial attention is invited to the invitations to every communion to appoint a suitable Commission and every local congregation to establish a suitable committee to cooperate with the American Council of the World Alliance.

THE CHURCHES OF AMERICA AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

THE CHALLENGE

At the outbreak of the great war Christianity was widely denounced because it had not made war impossible between Christian nations.

The problem now confronting the churches of America is how they may most effectively render their contribution to the building up of such international relations that justice may be secured and good-will prevail and that international difficulties may be settled by methods of reason rather than by appeal to force.*

THE INVITATION

For the speedy and effective attainment of these ends, the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches and the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America jointly invite every local congregation to establish a Peacemakers' Committee.

*The World Alliance proposes a constructive policy and program that are equally important for those who believe in and for those who oppose enlarged military and naval forces for the United States.

Furthermore, this world movement is entirely free from questions concerning church organization and doctrine.

122 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS—PART III.

1. To connect each local congregation with the world movement of the churches.

2. To promote study in the local community of the principles of Christian internationalism.

3. To develop the intelligent convictions of church members in regard to their international responsibilities and duties.

4. To render possible the collective action of Christian citizens in Christianizing America's international relations.

Every Church and every Christian should help in establishing a Christian world order.

THE PLAN

1. Systematic, nation-wide education.

The principles and methods of world constructive statesmanship should be studied in Bible classes, brotherhoods, men's leagues, women's clubs, home and foreign missionary societies, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and young people's societies.

2. Collective, cooperative, and simultaneous action.

Suitable petitions to the President and to Congress should be signed by millions of Christian citizens.

THE DUTY

1. Of the Church

Every church should establish its Committee on World Problems and introduce into all its groups at some suitable time the study of the methods and responsibilities for establishing world righteousness and world peace. No new organization is proposed and no new meetings.

2. Of the Christian

Christian *men* have their peculiar responsibilities in this matter of Christianizing America's international relations. They alone have the suffrage except in a few states. What they think on international policies will have directive influence upon those policies. They should, therefore, study these questions earnestly and conscientiously, and be prepared to make their peculiar contribution to the cause of establishing a Christian world order.

Christian *women* also have their peculiar responsibilities in these matters. They train the children in the home, in the schools, and in the Sunday-schools. They can look upon international problems and policies with interests less warped

by ambition for great financial gains, commercial conquests, and national glory. The disasters and calamities of war fall most heavily upon them. Through their missionary societies, women's clubs and Chautauqua courses they are organized for study and for work as are no other groups in the country. They, therefore, should bend their energies to the study of these questions and to the development of intelligent convictions and sane methods for the establishment of international righteousness, government, and good-will.

Every Christian who wishes to do his part and to have the churches of America do their part in establishing a Christian world order should see to it that his church establishes at once its Peacemakers' Committee.

THE COST

Nothing in cash—but genuine consecration and courage. There are no obligatory fees nor financial obligations for churches or committees; only voluntary contributions are sought.

THE MEMBERS

Churches join the World Alliance by appointing their committees and reporting to the national office.

Individuals join by becoming regular, sustaining, honorary, or life members by making gifts (\$1, \$5, \$10, \$25, \$50, \$100).

COURSES OF STUDY

1. *A New Era in Human History, a Four Weeks' Study of World Constructive Statesmanship*, with a Petition to the President and Congress of the United States.

2. *America and the Orient*.—This four-chapter booklet (pp. 100) is a study of the contact of the White and Yellow races, and outlines a constructive policy and program for the solution of the problem. It is published jointly by the Laymen's Missionary Movement and the Missionary Education Movement.

3. *The Fight for Peace*.—This book of eighteen short chapters (pp. 200) is designed to help Christians understand the modern world problems. It discusses the relations of America with Europe, Mexico, China and Japan, and presents the principles upon which a Christian world order must be built. It is published by the Federal Council of Churches. Ten or more copies: cloth, 40 cents. Single copies: cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents; postage, 7 cents.

4. *World Missions and World Peace*.—This book of six chapters (pp. 280), issued by the Central Committee on United Study, is the text-book of the Women's Foreign Mission Study Course for 1916-17, but is equally fitted for men. It is an enlightening historical study of the relation of the Christian Church to the problems of War and Peace. It is accompanied by an exceedingly valuable pamphlet of suggestions for class leaders entitled, "How to Use Our Text Book" (10 cents). Order from M. H. Leavis, West Medford, Mass.; paper, 30 cents; cloth, 50 cents; postage, 7 cents.

5. *International Peace, A Study in Christian Fraternity*.—This splendid course of thirteen lessons (pp. 30) was especially prepared for Sunday-school classes by Norman E. Richardson and others under the direction of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It is designed for adult Bible classes and for young people in their teens. It has been issued in 3,000,000 Sunday-school quarterlies by the various denominational publishing houses, but may also be secured from the Federal Council Office, 105 East 22d Street, New York City. 5 cents each or \$5.00 per hundred.

PAMPHLETS

A Challenge to the Churches. Introduction to "A New Era in Human History."

A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program.

Asia's Appeal to America.

These pamphlets are 5 cents each or \$4.00 per hundred.

Manual for Peacemakers' Committees. Free.

MAGAZINES

The following magazines are recommended for the use of Peacemakers' Committees:

1. *World Outlook*. A high-class missionary magazine with a world-wide vision of commerce, industry, social progress, and religion. Superbly illustrated. \$1.50.

2. *Everyland*. A monthly magazine for boys and girls covering nearly every field of human interest. It contains excellent stories and is attractively illustrated. \$1.00.

3. *Missionary Review of the World*. An illustrated monthly record of progress and opportunity in world-wide Christian missions. \$2.50.

4. *International Review of Missions*. A quarterly review dealing with work among non-Christian peoples, issued by the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh. \$2.00.

WORLD ALLIANCE FOR PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL
FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES

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Rev. J. B. Remensnyder, D.D., LL.D., *Chairman*
Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, *Secretary*

For Literature write to

REV. SIDNEY L. GULICK

105 East 22d Street, New York City

A new task is laid upon the churches in this new era of human history. It is not enough that churches and Christians should send missionaries to foreign lands to preach the gospel. If they would do their work successfully in Christianizing a heathen world they must Christianize America's international policies and practises. For this, all the churches must unite for education and cooperation. Division spells defeat and disaster. The name proposed for these commissions and committees of Christians to cooperate in Christianizing international relations is "The Peacemakers' Commission" for the denominational committee and "The Peacemakers' Committee" for the local group.

The adoption of this name was reached only after careful consideration. It was chosen because it is distinctively Christian, positive, constructive, brief, and fits in well with the names of the denominations and churches.

XII.

A Course of Study in World Constructive Statesmanship

To aid the Peacemakers' Committees in their educational work in local groups a four weeks' course of study has been prepared and issued entitled, "A New Era in Human History." It closes with a Petition to the President and Congress of the United States. In the preparation of this course of study many societies and individuals were consulted and suggestions secured. It is herewith presented in full.

A NEW ERA IN HUMAN HISTORY **Four Weeks Study in the Outlines** **of** **World Constructive Statesmanship** **and** **A PETITION** **to** **The President and Congress of the United States** **of America**

FOREWORD

The following outlines of World Constructive Statesmanship for bringing in a New Era in Human History are designed for a course of study rather than of reading.

The class leader should arrange for several members to take part each time in discussing the salient points of the lesson, thus promoting variety and interest. Each member of the class might well be asked to familiarize himself with one or more of the volumes mentioned in the list given of *Helpful Literature* (page 337).

Should the class so desire, two or three weeks might well be devoted to each of the four principal topics, thus giving time for reports from individuals on the important volumes mentioned in the reference literature.

The petition should not be signed until after the course of study has been completed. Each member of the class should then undertake to secure as many signatures as possible. The class might well offer a prize to the member securing the largest number of signatures by April 30, 1917.

All signatures to the petition should reach the national office of the World Alliance for International Friendship (105 East 22d Street, New York City) before May, 1917.

This course of study and the Petition to the President and Congress of the United States are presented for wide study by the following organizations and groups:

American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches, 105 East 22d St., New York City.

Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22d St., New York City.

Commission on Christian Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22d St., New York City.

American Christian Missionary Society, Department of Bible Schools, 108 Carew Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Northern Baptist Convention, Department of Missionary Education of the Cooperating Organizations, 23 East 26th St., New York City.

Northern Baptist Convention, Department of Social Service and Brotherhood, 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, Department of Education, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

Home Missions Board of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A., Department of Missionary Education, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Reformed Church in America, Department of Missionary Education, 25 East 22d St., New York City.

Baptist Young Peoples Union of America, 107 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

United Society of Christian Endeavor, Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

Peacemakers' Commission of the Christian Church, Dayton, Ohio.

Peacemakers' Commission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (South), Nashville, Tenn.

Christian Women's Peace Movement, West Medford, Mass.

California State Church Federation, Wright and Callender Bldg.,
Los Angeles, Cal.

Church Federation of Greater Kansas City, Scaritt Arcade, Kansas
City, Mo.

Massachusetts Federation of Churches, 53 Mt. Vernon St., Boston,
Mass.

Peace Association of Friends in America, Richmond, Ind.

American School Peace League, 405 Marlborough St., Boston,
Mass.

Board of Public Welfare, Greensboro, N. C.

Buffalo Peace and Arbitration Society, Buffalo, N. Y.

Chicago Peace Society, 116 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Georgia Peace Society, 321 North Boulevard Ave., Atlanta, Ga.

Mohawk and Hudson Rivers Peace Society, Albany, N. Y.

New England Department of the American Peace Society, 6
Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

Order of the Golden Rule, 1884 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C.

Pacific Coast Department of the American Peace Society, Hobart
Bldg., San Francisco, Cal.

Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society, 111 South 13th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Washington Peace Society, Washington, D. C.

Woman's International Friendship League, Macon, Ga.

Woman's Peace Party, National Organization, 116 South Michi-
gan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Woman's Peace Party, Massachusetts Branch, 12 Otis Place,
Boston, Mass.

Woman's Peace Party, Pennsylvania Branch, 111 South 13th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

World Peace Association, Northfield, Minn.

Youngstown Peace Society, Youngstown, Ohio

"Above all nations is humanity." —*Plato*

PART I

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA IN HUMAN HISTORY

1. Steam and electricity are abolishing time and space and are making all nations and races immediate neighbors geographically.

2. Science, popular education, travel, commerce, postal facilities, literature, and the press are bringing all mankind toward a common life and a common mind. Each nation and race nevertheless has and will continue to have its own special characteristics and endowments and each seems to become increasingly self-conscious, ambitious, and determined. The conquest of the resources of nature is bringing undreamed wealth and luxury to its possessors. This has introduced a new rivalry, especially between those virile and advanced races which seek world-wide opportunity.

3. These conditions have produced an extraordinary intertwining of the interests and activities of the entire world and induced vast movements of population. Unprecedented occupation and development of new territories are taking place.

4. All these have reenforced the movement toward democracy. Opportunity, knowledge, and power have come to the common man. The people are getting control. Opposition to hereditary rule and special privilege are growing. These latter, however, seek to maintain their ancient place and power, resorting at times even to war in order to stem the rising tide against them.

5. Many conscious international efforts and movements have also taken place. Numberless international gatherings have been held and societies formed. Financial, cultural, educational, commercial, and scientific agencies and facilities have been established, wonderfully knitting together the life of the peoples.

6. During recent decades important steps have been taken for closer political and governmental relations of the nations. Treaties of arbitration have been made, many serious difficulties have been settled by methods of arbitration and conciliation and plans for permanent international organization have been formulated and carried far along toward completion.

7. In fine, there has been extraordinary preparation,

physical, scientific, intellectual, moral, and governmental, for the new era in human history, an era in which the nations may maintain cordial and helpful relations and settle their international problems by reason and adjustment rather than by resort to war.

8. On the other hand, vast problems are arising directly from these world tendencies. The rivalries of expanding nations in their dealings with the government, trade, and economic development of politically backward nations and undeveloped regions create problems of the gravest character. A new Asia, moreover, is rapidly coming into being, determined, ambitious, self-conscious, equipped with the mechanical, political, social, and industrial devices and methods of the Occident and increasingly sensitive to rights invaded, to differential race legislation, and to humiliating race discrimination by Western people.

9. The great war has shown that the leading nations were not so ready for the new era, as had popularly been supposed.

Suggested Scripture Readings

Isa. 2: 2-4, 12-22; 9: 2-7; Micah 5: 10-15; Joel 3: 9-21; Rev. 21: 1, 10-12, 21-27.

Topics for Discussion

Compare conditions now and fifty or one hundred years ago—travel, mail, commerce, food, buildings, communication, etc.

How far has the democratic ideal spread around the world since 1776? Europe? America? Asia?

Since the close of the Napoleonic wars what efforts have been made to settle international difficulties by reason instead of war? With what successes?

How does the new Asia (Japan, China, India) differ from Asia of 1800?

What problems do these many changes bring to America? In the maintenance of our democracy? In our treatment of the Negro? The Chinese? The Japanese? Latin America?

**"For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this,
Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." —Paul**

PART II

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ERA

1. The hope of a better future lies in establishing a new world order in which the principles of universal justice and good-will shall be embodied in the laws, institutions, and customs that control the relations of nations.

World peace can come only as the fruit and product of international righteousness. Peace is the outcome of justice, justice of law, law of political organization. The political organization of the world, therefore, is the first step to be taken toward the goal of peace. Nations as individuals should recognize the rights of others, render justice rather than demand rights, and find their greatness in good-will and service.

2. The establishment of this new world order requires:

(1) The abandonment of pagan nationalism with its secret diplomacy, its demoralizing spy system, and its frank and brutal assertion of selfishness, of unlimited sovereignty, and of the right to override and destroy weak neighbors; and

(2) The adoption of a higher nationalism and a nobler internationalism which assert the familyhood of nations, the limitation of sovereignty, and the right of all nations and races, small and great, to share in the world's resources and in opportunity for self-directing development and expanding life.

The establishment of the new world order implies the substitution of the cooperative for the competitive theory and practise of nations.

Suggested Scripture Readings

Isa. 1: 10-20; Amos 1: 3; 2: 16; 4: 1-12; 5: 18-24; Matt. 5: 38-48; Luke 10: 25-37; Acts 10: 1-35; 1 Cor. 13: 1-13; Jas. 4: 1-4.

Topics for Discussion

What have been the fundamental ideas and principles of the past as to the rights and duties of nations and races? Consider their good features; their bad features.

What changes must now be made?

Consider how the mechanical progress of recent decades has brought dangers to every people. Just what are these dangers and how may they be overcome?

How can world sovereignty guarantee local sovereignty and security? Illustrate from the relations of the federal to the state governments in America. Of the British Empire to its parts. Is this equally true of the German and Russian Empires respectively to their parts? What must be the essential character of the world sovereignty that will truly guarantee the restricted sovereignty of the parts?

"What we mean to propose is a general congress of nations . . . Such a congress and such a league are the only means of realizing the idea of a true public law."—*Kant*

PART III

THE PRACTICAL PROGRAM OF THE NEW ERA

Nations are in different stages of growth and decay. These lead to constantly changing relations with corresponding needs and demands for adjustments. In the past the most important of these adjustments have been reached by war. Any successful proposal, therefore, for a substitute for war must provide, not only for justice based upon existing conditions, but also for the adjustments inevitably demanded by virile and expanding peoples. Processes that are merely legal which do not make room for such adjustments cannot prevent wars.

What is now needed is:

1. The attainment of substantial agreement among the nations as to the rights and duties of nations.
2. The formation of a League of Nations that desire to establish world order, world justice, and world peace.
3. The creation by the League of Nations of adequate agencies and processes, legislative, judicial, and executive, for the attainment of justice.
4. The extension of the principle of democracy alike to the relations of nations and to the inner governmental processes of each nation providing thus for economic adjustment and social reform.

5. The cultivation of the spirit of good-will largely through the agencies of schools, colleges, the press, and the churches of every land, and by means of travel and trade.

Suggested Scripture Readings

Lev. 19: 9-17; Matt. 18: 15-18; Gal. 5: 13-16.

Topics for Discussion

What are the rights of nations? And do nations have duties other than those to their own people? If so, what?

What is meant by anarchy? Has there ever been other than world anarchy? If a world government is established and maintained by the military might of one principal nation or group of nations, what will be its essential character?

What must be the character, processes, and agencies of democratic world government?

How can it be set up?

"My first wish is to see this plague to mankind [war] banished from the earth—to see the whole world in peace and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind."

—Washington

PART IV

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY AND DUTY IN BRINGING IN THE NEW ERA

America has a unique opportunity and therefore responsibility for rendering important aid in abolishing war and in bringing in the new world order. In rendering this service the American government as well as the American people should be as active in promoting world organization and international good-will as they are in providing for national safety and prosperity. America should now promote: (A) National Education, (B) Domestic Legislation, and (C) International Organization.

A. NATION-WIDE EDUCATION AND COLLECTIVE ACTION OF INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS

1. The nation-wide education of American citizens must be secured in the principles of international rights and duties and of world organization.

2. Individual citizens who desire to do their part should join some group or society working for this end. If none already exists in their convenient vicinity let them take steps to form one.

3. All groups working for the new era should be so related to each other through the national movement that at opportune times the collective and simultaneous action of millions of American citizens can be secured for the support of the President and of Congress in the needful legislation.

B. DOMESTIC LEGISLATION BY CONGRESS

America should at once set her own house in order by enacting such legislation dealing with international relations as shall prove her sincerity in giving justice and in being helpful.

Among America's most pressing domestic problems are those of just, wise, and kind treatment of immigrants, both European and Asiatic. Federal failure to protect European aliens in spite of treaty obligations has more than once been a cause of serious international tension.

The relations of the United States with Asia are increasingly ominous. Our historic Asiatic policy of helpfulness is seriously marred by our contravention of treaties with China and disregard of the spirit of the treaties with Japan. These are chilling the friendship of those nations.

Other phases of this great problem are the mutual relations of the United States and Latin America. Too seldom has the United States regarded the interests and view-point of Latin America.

Congress should promptly:

1. Adopt a comprehensive policy and program for the regulation of immigration from every land, and for the Americanization of immigrants. Only so many immigrants should be admitted from any land as we can Americanize. All who are admitted should be given equal treatment and opportunity regardless of race.

2. Enact such laws as will enable the federal government to carry out its treaty pledges for the protection of aliens residing in the United States.

3. Adopt an Asiatic policy that recognizes the new world conditions now arising through the expanding life of the Orient.

4. Define more adequately the Monroe Doctrine and provide for a Pan-American federation.

5. The President and Congress of the United States might well take the initiative in proposing, after the end of the war, the holding of the needed conference of the nations to deal with international relations.

C. PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:

The United States should lay before a conference of the nations at or soon after the close of the Great War proposals for:

1. A Declaration of the Fundamental Rights and Duties of Nations, the adoption of which declaration shall constitute the legal basis of international law.

2. The formation of a League of the Nations to support the principles of this declaration.

3. The creation by this League of the Nations of adequate agencies and processes, legislative, executive, judicial, for the attainment of international justice.

Suggested Scripture Readings

Micah 4: 1-5; 6: 1-8; Hosea 6: 4-6; 14: 9; Matt. 7: 1-5, 15-23; 1 Cor. 12: 12-26.

Topics for Discussion

What part may and should individual citizens take in establishing the new world order? What more may they do beyond the suggestions of the text?

What suggestion has the Hon. William H. Taft made for legislation for the adequate protection of aliens? cf. *The United States and Peace*, p. 44.

What are Dr. Gulick's proposals as to comprehensive immigration legislation? cf. *America and the Orient*.

Is a Pan-American federation or judicial union desirable? Practicable?

Is the United States ready to enter a world league of nations to establish world government?

AN IMPORTANT ACT OF CONGRESS

Especial attention is called to the action of Congress in appending to the Naval Appropriation Bill for the coming fiscal year (approved by the President August 29, 1916) a section declaring it to be the policy of the United States to "settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided." The United States "looks with apprehension and disfavor upon a general increase of armaments throughout the world."

The President is accordingly authorized:

1. To "call a conference of all great governments" not later than the close of the war, whose duty it shall be

(1) To formulate plans for the establishment of a world tribunal for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and

(2) To consider the question of disarmament.

2. To appoint nine Americans "to represent the United States in such a conference."

3. To suspend further building of the navy, when such international tribunal shall have been established and rendered unnecessary the maintenance of competitive armaments.

Congress also appropriated \$200,000 for the expenses of such a conference.

In view of this splendid act, the people of the United States should so express their endorsement of these proposals that the President may know that he has the entire nation behind him in carrying them out.

HELPFUL LITERATURE

1. A splendid course of thirteen Sunday-school lessons has been especially prepared for young people and adults by the Commission on Christian Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22d Street, New York City, with the title:

International Peace, Norman E. Richardson. 5 cents each; \$5.00 per hundred.

2. Two pamphlet study courses by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead are particularly fine, entitled:

A Primer of the Peace Movement, American Peace Society, Washington, D. C. \$.10 each; \$5.00 per hundred.

Lessons on War and Peace, World Peace Foundation, Boston. Single copies free.

3. Every class studying the New Era and problems of world organization should possess:

The Fight for Peace, Sidney L. Gulick. Federal Council of Churches. Cloth, \$.50; paper, \$.25.

Selected Quotations on Peace and War, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22d Street, New York City. \$1.00.

Here are given the best utterances of nearly 200 leaders of thought. This single volume will take the place of a large peace library. Every man and woman in America should read the classic by the late Professor William James, entitled:

The Moral Equivalent of War, American Association of International Conciliation, 407 W. 117th St., New York City. Free.

Other recent important books dealing with these questions from the ethical view-point are:

What Makes a Nation Great? Frederick Lynch. Revell, New York City. \$.75.

The Christian Equivalent of War, D. W. Lyon. Young Men's Christian Association. \$.50.

New Wars for Old, John Haynes Holmes. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York City. \$1.50.

Christianity and International Peace, Charles E. Jefferson. Crowell & Co., New York City. \$1.25.

What the War is Teaching, Charles E. Jefferson. Revell, New York City. \$1.00.

Ethics of Force, H. E. Warner. World Peace Foundation, Boston. \$.55.

The Forks of the Road, Washington Gladden. Macmillan, New York City. \$.50.

History as Past Ethics, P. V. N. Myers. Ginn & Co., Boston. \$1.50.

World Missions and World Peace, Caroline A. Mason. M. H. Leavis, West Medford, Mass. \$.50 and \$.30.

4. For those desiring a more detailed study of the peace problem from various practical standpoints, the following books are suggested:

The Great Illusion, Norman Angell. Putnam's Sons, New York City. \$2.25.

War and the Breed, David Starr Jordan. Beacon Press, Boston. \$1.25.

War and Its Benefits, Jacques Novicow. Hall & Co., New York City. \$1.00.

Nationalism, War and Society, Edward Krehbiel. Macmillan, New York City. \$1.00.

Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory, Geo. W. Nasmyth. Putnam's Sons, New York City. \$1.50.

Fear God and Take Your Own Part, Theodore Roosevelt. Doran, New York City. \$1.50.

Dangers of Half Preparedness, Norman Angell. Putnam's Sons, New York City. \$.50.

Preparedness, William I. Hull. Revell, New York City. \$1.25.

5. The European war has prompted the discussion of conditions for assuring durable peace. Many important volumes deal with these questions. The following are recommended:

Toward International Government, John A. Hobson. Macmillan, New York City. \$1.00.

International Government, Theodore Woolf. Brentano, New York City. \$2.00.

The Restoration of Europe, Alfred H. Fried. Macmillan, New York City. \$1.00.

War and World Government, Frank Crane. John Lane Co., New York City. \$1.00.

The Ways to Lasting Peace, David Starr Jordan. Bobbs, Merrill & Co., Indianapolis, Ind. \$.75.

League to Enforce Peace. Addresses. 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. \$.50.

The Great Solution, Henri La Fontaine. World Peace Foundation, Boston. \$1.25.

The Western Hemisphere in the World of To-morrow, Franklin H. Giddings. Revell, New York City. \$.35.

The Stakes of Diplomacy, Walter Lippman. Henry Holt & Co., New York City. \$1.25.

6. The country with which war is widely thought to be more or less probable in the near future is Japan. The essential facts, therefore, of America's Oriental problem should be carefully studied by every class that would really understand America's international relations and seek for methods of solution. For the briefest statement of America's Oriental problem, pamphlets by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, entitled, *Asia's*

Appeal to America, A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program, and The Pacific Coast and the New Oriental Policy, may be secured from the Federal Council of Churches. 5 cents each; \$4.00 per hundred, postpaid.

For a more thorough study of these questions four volumes are recommended:

China, Bishop J. W. Bashford. Chapters XVI-XVIII. The Abingdon Press, New York City. Net \$2.50.

The Japanese Crisis, James A. B. Scherer. F. A. Stokes & Co., New York City. \$.75.

The American Japanese Problem, Sidney L. Gulick. Scribner's Sons, New York City. \$1.75.

America and the Orient, A Constructive Policy, Sidney L. Gulick. Missionary Education Movement, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. \$.25.

As the closing section of the foregoing course of study came the following petition:

Return this Petition Signed to the World Alliance for International Friendship, 105 East 22d Street, New York City, before May, 1917

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS OF THE U. S. A.

By Those Who Believe in the Principles of the New
Internationalism

Whereas, Mankind has to-day an unparalleled opportunity for the reconstruction of international relations and the establishment of a new world order, in which universal justice, helpfulness and good-will should be embodied in the laws, institutions and customs that control international life; and

Whereas, Congress has authorized the President to call a Conference of all the great Governments to plan for world peace and disarmament; and

Whereas, If America is to contribute her share in establishing world peace based upon justice and good-will she should at once set right her own laws dealing with aliens;

Therefore, We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, respectfully petition:

A. Congress to enact at an early date laws providing for

1. Proper federal protection for aliens.

2. A comprehensive immigration and Americanization policy and program.

3. An Asiatic policy that recognizes the new conditions in Japan and China.

B. The President to call at the right time the conference of the great governments and to submit to it for consideration and action proposals for:

1. A declaration of the fundamental rights and duties of nations.

2. A League of the nations, to support the principles of this declaration, with international periodic conferences, an international supreme court and international boards of conciliation.

C. The President to call a conference of Latin-American countries to take steps for the establishment of a Pan-American federation.

XIII.

A Challenge to the Churches

Accompanying the above course of study the following pamphlet was issued designed to arouse Christian leaders to a sense of their duty and opportunity in these times of such critical moment.

A Challenge to Christians in The Churches of America

AMERICAN COUNCIL

**World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship
Through the Churches**

105 East 22d Street, New York City

THE CALL TO THE CHURCHES

THE CHURCHES AND THE GREAT WAR

Europe's tragedy disclosed the essential paganism of modern international relations. For decades her statesmen and citizens had been definitely preparing for conflict. Had the churches of Europe and America done their duty in finding Christian ways of settling international difficulties, and of promoting international confidence and good-will? For decades a few pacifists had proposed judicial methods for solving difficulties between nations. What support did the churches give to these proposals and efforts?

IDEALS OF PAGAN IMPERIALISM

War talk is developing in the United States. Threatening words and defiant looks are being hurled across the Atlantic and the Pacific. World conquest and control, through lavish use of "booms and dollars," are being urged by American imperialistic expansionists. Consider a few recent utterances:

"World Empire," says the *Seven Seas*, the organ of the Army and Navy League, "is the only logical and natural aim of a nation. The true militarist believes that pacificism is the masculine and humanitarianism is the feminine manifestation of national degeneracy. It is the absolute right of a nation to live to its fullest intensity, to expand, to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means, such as armed conquest, commerce, and diplomacy."

"All nations are and must be selfish," writes the *Washington Herald*. "At the close of the present struggle we shall be in a position in all respects but arms and the will to arm to control the destinies of the terrestrial globe. On the other hand, the European nations, impoverished financially and with their resources of 'cannon food' materially depleted, will not only be armed to the teeth, but will have the immense reserves of spiritual vigor that war always begets. We shall look to them very much as a fat, white caterpillar does to a party of hungry ants.

"The struggle from which we will not be permitted to stand aside may not, and probably will not, come for fifty years, but it will come, and fifty years is little time in which to prepare for it.

"We shall dispute this leadership either with Britain or Germany, as the case may be, when the opportunity presents itself. That is why we have kept out of the struggle. It is to our advantage that our potential rivals shall weaken each other as much as possible. This is what all of our apostles of preparedness have in their hearts; and all the talk that our post-prandial orators and statesmen put forth about our objects being purely defensive and our having no interests in the eastern hemisphere, and so on, is just so much hypocritical balderdash. We desire to be a great nation and to have our 'place in the sun,' which is just a synonym for 'bossing the show,' and though we are not so truculent or so objectionable about it, our aspirations in this respect are not a whit different from those that Germany has published broadcast to the world.

"Great Britain and the United States going hand-in-hand to lead the world into a warless era is only a beautiful dream. Bombs and dollars are the only things that count to-day. We have plenty of one. Let us lay in a good supply of the other and blast a path to world leadership as soon as an opportunity presents itself."

"Japan has beaten China," writes the *Evening Journal* of New York, "has beaten Russia, and does not doubt that she can beat the United States.

"Japan knows that she is to fight us some day, and this is her chance. Europe could not interfere, if Europe wanted to. England,

with her big fleet, could not do less than wish good luck to Japan, her ally—Japan could reasonably demand that England do more.

"All the nations in Europe hate us; big fleet owners and owners of trained armies hate us. Some hate us because we have supplied weapons and lent money to others. Others hate us because we have not done everything that we were told to do. In a word, Japan knows that she is ready for war and we are not. Therefore Japan is insistent and insolent, and will become more insolent and more insistent as our complications increase.

"Japan is ready now. Japan has two million men trained to fight now, and weapons with which they can be armed at a moment's notice."

"There will be war with Japan within five years unless we prepare," Senator Towne is reported to have said in a recent address.

"The undercurrent here in Washington against the Japanese," writes the Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, "is usually to be traced to navy circles. It is astonishing how many people in high position one meets here who think that a conflict with Japan is inevitable."

The foregoing sentences doubtless represent the views of extremists, but they do immeasurable harm and many of our most responsible leaders are profoundly anxious. The world they see is a world of warring nations. The strong prevail and prosper. The weak are doomed. We are loudly told that Europe's war should be our warning and that America's only hope for security and peace in this warring world is to be even better prepared for war than all possible assailants.

IDEALS OF CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Compare with the above clamorous demands that America shall adopt a pagan policy of militaristic imperialism the no less instant demands of Christian leaders that America shall adopt a Christian policy of international good-will.

"We deny that self-preservation and self-aggrandizement are the first laws of political life, and that there is nothing higher than the state. So long as international politics is debased by selfishness and cunning and intrigue, so long will the life of the world be bound in shallows and in miseries. The Christianization of international relations is the supreme task assigned in our century to forward-looking men.

"In waging war upon war we must remove the causes of war—race prejudices, national antagonisms, commercial rivalries, religious animosities, and political injustices. The exploitation of backward

peoples, the wringing of concessions from incompetent governments, the lording it over helpless populations, and threatenings and overreachings of foreign ministers and diplomatists, haughty boastings of the right to dominate either the land or the sea, these are the seeds of war, and to destroy these seeds is the work of the Christian people.

"We have reached a crisis in the history of the world, and the momentous question presses, What shall we do? Forces are at work which, unless checked and guided, threaten to overwhelm civilization.

"The peril confronting us cannot be overestimated, and the first step toward coping with it is understanding what it is. But side by side with the peril stands the opportunity of making a new beginning. Humanity has at the end of this war a chance to begin its life anew."

"The New Internationalism teaches the equal right of all nations and races, small and great, to share in the world's resources, and in opportunity for free development, for expanding life. The human race is one and essentially indivisible. Its groups are indeed natural products of its history, but they are not independent in any absolute sense. The real welfare of all is bound up in that of each. We constitute a family of nations—an international brotherhood. We are members one of another, and none, however powerful, may ignore the rights and welfare of the rest, however small and weak."

"Against the pernicious doctrine that a sovereign state is irresponsible, because there is no higher power to which it owes allegiance, the church must assert uncompromisingly that above all kingdoms is the kingdom of God."

"Real internationalism, actual world-organization, can never come and abide so long as men believe that outward force is ultimate arbiter. Men must be awakened to the fact that spiritual forces are supreme."

"Surely we of all men ought to stand for the great conviction that there is only one race, and that is the human race."

To the above quotations from speakers at the Garden City Conference of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches, we add the splendid utterance of President Woodrow Wilson in his notable address at Mobile. He was speaking, it is true, with Latin-American nations in view, but his words apply with equal truth and force to our relations with every nation.

"We must prove ourselves their friends and champions upon terms of equality and honor. You cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality. You cannot be friends at all except upon terms of honor, and we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not.

It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interest. It not only is unfair to those with whom you are dealing, but it is degrading upon the part of your own actions.

"Human rights, national integrity and opportunity, as against material interests—that is the issue which we now have to face."

TWO CONFLICTING IDEALS

Here we have two distinct ideals held before the American people. Both seek national security, prosperity and world leadership. The one is pagan, appealing to national selfishness and relying upon brute force; the other is Christian, appealing to the sense of right and reason and relying upon good-will and justice. The one exalts might; the other right. The one glories in power and physical prosperity; the other prizes friendship, justice and humanity.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCHES

What part, now, are the churches of America to play in the immediate future of the United States? Are they to be an important or a negligible factor in opposing national selfishness, ambitions, and injustice, and in establishing wholesome international relations? That will depend on their attitude to the pressing problems of the new times and on their ability to act together. The times challenge the churches to high and noble action.

If they hold themselves strictly aloof from international problems, if they say these are political questions with which the churches are not concerned, they will of course do nothing. The churches of America will be as impotent and as negligible in international affairs as the churches of Europe have been. It is indeed true that these problems are largely political. But have they not moral aspects which the churches can ignore only at their peril? Do they not involve moral principles for whose promulgation the churches exist? If, because of the inactivity of the churches, the tragedy of war should overtake America, would not the impotence and bankruptcy of American Christianity be loudly and justly proclaimed?

Equally profitless to mankind will be the influence of the churches if, in cowardice and fear, they merely endorse the policy of peace and security through reliance on vast military preparedness. They will thereby but play into the hands of

materialists and militarists, and will avail nothing in restraining excesses or in subordinating military power to reason and to noble ends.

Mere opposition on the other hand to military preparedness and condemnation of the wickedness and horror of war, likewise will avail nothing. Invective, however fierce, denunciation, however strenuous, will be fruitless. Mere negative passivism and a *laissez faire* attitude to the pressing and growing problems of international relations provide no solutions.

THE CALL FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE AGGRESSIVE PROGRAM

Only as the churches of America positively adopt an attitude and a policy of constructive statesmanship, courageously endorsing and promoting those practical programs that embody in international relations the ideals of universal human brotherhood, can they make their unique contribution to human welfare. This constructive attitude recognizes and approves indeed the relative truths presented by advocates of each of the other policies, aloofness, preparedness, and anti-preparedness. But it insists that the pressing need is for comprehensive and constructive policies and for concrete activities promoting the establishment of a truly Christian world order.

The Four Weeks' Study in World Constructive Statesmanship, with the petition, issued by the American Council of the World Alliance, the Federal Council Commission on Peace and Arbitration, and other organizations and groups, seek to embody the main principles of such a constructive policy and program. We hold that for the long future, policies and activities that beget mutual confidence and good-will among the nations are of the highest importance, and that their early definition and adoption constitute our most pressing need. Upon these matters the thought and energy of our own nation should be focused.

CHRISTIAN IDEALS SHOULD RULE AMERICA

The military and naval power of the United States, however great they may become, must be controlled by Christian ideals and constructive policies. The brutal and selfish ambitions of those who would secure private and national prosperity, greatness, and mastery by "bombs and dollars" and "would blast a path to world leadership" must be absolutely

rejected. This can be secured and assured, however, only by the united activity and statesmanship of those who believe that the ethics of Jesus apply to nations no less than to individuals.

AIMS OF OTHER PEACE MOVEMENTS

The League to Enforce Peace aims at the construction of international machinery by which to substitute calm reason, impartial law, and friendly conciliation for hotheaded resort to war. The World's Court League, the Woman's Peace Party, Socialists, the American Federation of Labor and other movements are all out with their peace policies and programs. The American Federation of Labor already has plans matured for an International Labor Congress to be held in Europe at the same time and place with the official peace conference of the belligerent nations. Many groups of peace advocates are organized and are working earnestly along their respective lines.

SHALL THE CHURCHES BE INACTIVE AND DIVIDED?

Are the churches of America content to leave to purely secular movements the effort to improve the relations of nations? Are they content to do nothing as churches, in this world crisis, for the establishment of Christian international relations? While endorsing heartily every effort of other groups to do their part, should not Christians express in positive, constructive policies their high ideals of human brotherhood and seek to make them real by practical and effective methods? Each group has its more or less specific proposals and plans for world organization. Should not the churches of America and of the world cooperate energetically for the adoption of such policies and such actions of international justice, outreaching helpfulness and positive good-will as shall incarnate the Christian ideals and beget genuine friendship between the nations?

LET THE CHURCHES MOBOLIZE THEIR FORCES

Has not the time come for mobilizing the Christian forces of America and of the world for establishing Christian internationalism?

This is the conviction of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council and also of the American Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship.

But how can it be accomplished? Only in one way. Churches and Christians must cooperate. This cooperation the World Alliance makes possible for Protestants. Let every congregation in America take its part; let it establish a Peacemakers' Committee; and let every church-member study the Four Weeks' Course in World Constructive Statesmanship. Whoever finds himself in harmony with its principles should affix his signature to the petition and ally himself actively with this great campaign for genuine and effective Christian internationalism.

THE CHURCHES, THE ARMY AND NAVY, THE TRAINING CAMPS

For some years at least the United States will doubtless have an increase of its army and navy and of military training camps for boys and young men. Under what moral influences will the men be? The churches and all parents should ponder earnestly the following statement by Colonel John Van Rensselaer, a medical officer of the United States army:

"Medical officers are required to instruct the men in the nature and dangers of these diseases and the non-necessity of exposure to them. We cannot expect all of our men to avoid exposure by reason of any moral suasion, . . . so we say to them: 'Be continent, but if you cannot, then protect yourself!' and we tell them how to do it."

"Venereal diseases," wrote Hon. J. M. Dickinson, former Secretary of War, "cause a greater sick rate than all others added together."

Similar testimony, suppressed by the censors, is coming from all the armies of Europe. The situation is appalling.

Consider likewise the following by Hudson Maxim, urging, in *Defenseless America* enormous increase in America's defenses:

"The unpleasant truth should be realized that invading armies must, with other luxuries, have women. As a result they leave a large progeny—wrens in the nest of the dove of peace. Hence, inasmuch as soldiers are the pick of the manhood of their country, they are likely to do about as much toward securing the survival of the fit in an enemy's country as they would have in their own country."

Will the Christians of America insist that in our army and navy and military training camps the very best physical, moral, and spiritual influences shall be thrown around the men? If they will then they must do far more than they have been doing. First of all they must know the facts and then they

must insist upon an adequate number of chaplains, provided with an adequate budget, with suitable facilities for their work and with proper official ranking. But how are these to be secured? Here, too, the only reply is *the churches must cooperate*.

THE CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

Will you unite with us in bringing all American churches and Christians into the volunteer army for establishing Christian international relations and the dominance of Christian influences in our military forces?

This Challenge and Call to the Churches is issued by
The American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting
International Friendship Through the Churches
The Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal
Council of the Churches of Christ in America

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

For carrying out the proposals of this *Challenge* every pastor should secure from the World Alliance a copy of the *Manual* and other literature which gives full directions and suggestions regarding the organization and work of local committees for cooperating in this world-movement of Christians.

The principles and methods of World Constructive Statesmanship should be studied by adult Bible Classes, Brotherhoods, Leagues, Women's Clubs, Home and Foreign Missionary Groups, Young People's Societies and Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations.

To aid in this study a new pamphlet has been prepared—*A New Era in Human History*, a Four Weeks' Course of Study in the Outlines of World Constructive Statesmanship, containing references to helpful literature and closing with the carefully prepared Petition given on the next page.

Each church member should be given an opportunity to sign the Petition. For this the following suggestions are offered:

1. Let the clergymen at some suitable service make a brief statement regarding the World Alliance, and the responsibility and duty of Christians to do their part.
2. Let the local committee place in the hands of each member a copy of this *Challenge* and of the *New Era*, with the request that they be taken home and carefully read.

3. The Peacemakers' Committee should check off the names of those who receive the pamphlet at the church and later arrange that a copy should be taken to each absent member by volunteer workers, going two by two. An interval of one or two weeks should be allowed for study and signature. For those who do not bring in their signed Petition there should be a wisely considered "follow-up" campaign either by mail or by personal calls.

4. Let the Committee feel that its work is not completed until the *signature of every church member* has either been secured or refused. If each church in the United States will do its part, this Petition should be signed by not less than 20,000,000 Christians.

If this is accomplished, the taunt can never again be made that the Churches of America are not interested in world peace, or that Christianity is a failure because Christians have made no effort to promote Christian international relations.

For literature on the principles and work of this World-Movement write to the World Alliance for International Friendship, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

CONCLUSION

This report would not be complete or worth while were it to stop at this point. We record the past, that we may guide our action for the future. We need not only to tell what we have done but to discover what we have not done; to realize how much we have fallen short of our duty; to define the task immediately before us that we may gird ourselves more efficiently for the enlarging opportunities of the future.

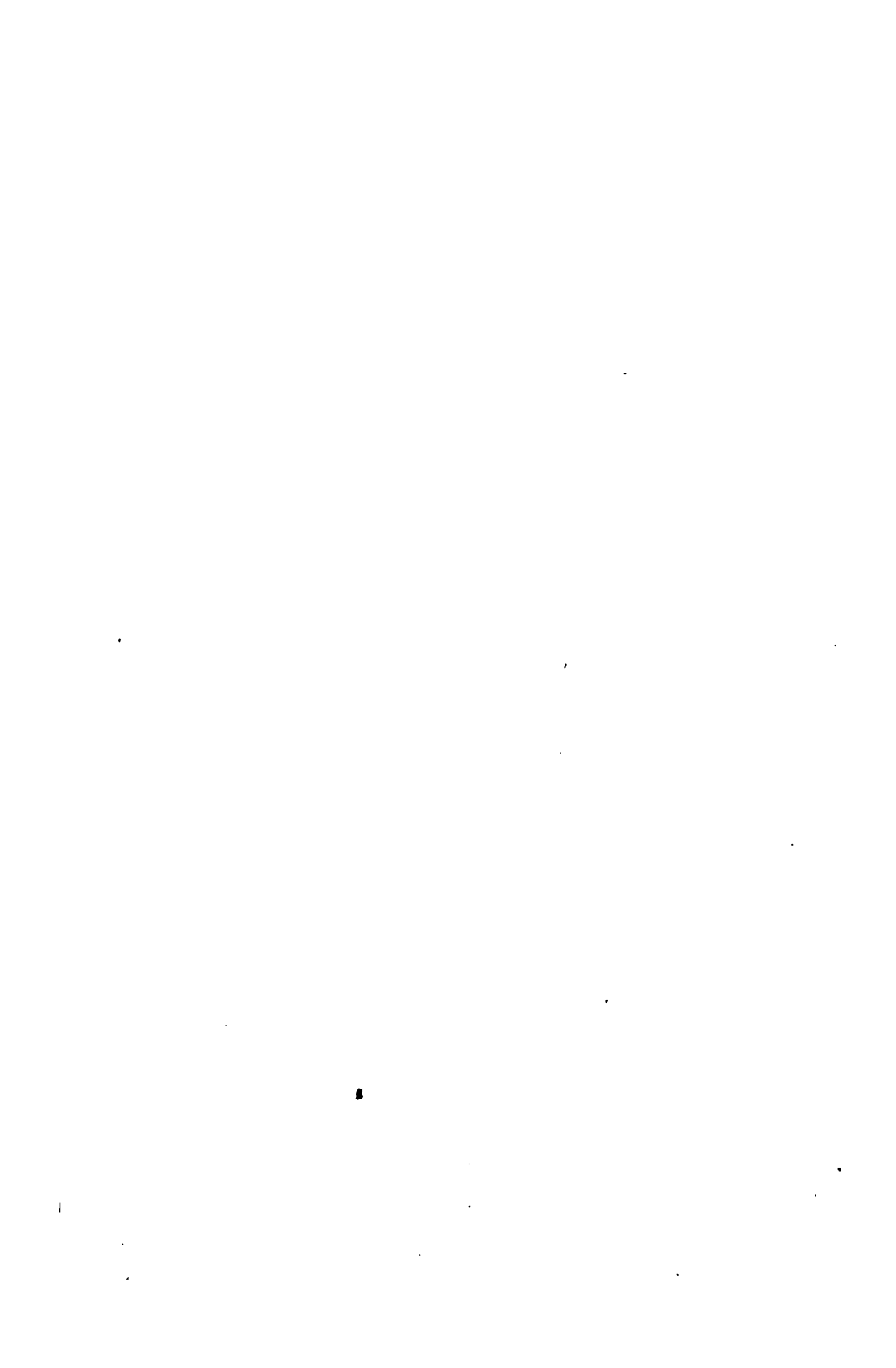
What now is the duty of the churches of America in the light of national and of world conditions? The world-war raging in Europe and Asia is indeed in the background of all our thinking, but we have no authority, even if we had adequate information, to fix responsibility or pronounce judgment for the fatal plunge of those nations into the maelstrom of mutual destruction. All the nations have been to a greater or less degree inheritors and partakers in a system of pagan internationalism that resorts to intrigue and deception, to spies and lies, to bluff and bluster. Men have been taught a morality and a conduct on behalf of national interests which is no longer regarded as right for the individual. Christians and churches, moreover, have taken relatively little heed of the situation and have made no mighty effort for its rectification. Such international states of mind, such accumulation of military force, such ambitions, suspicions, deceptions, and consequent alliances, as have been developed for generations, could not fail, in this age of scientific achievement, to bring on just such a gigantic and destructive war as this which now appals us.

We are deeply concerned to understand those conditions that always have bred and always will breed war. We wish to know those paths of belief and practise that bring justice and peace, and to discover how we may teach those principles to our own people and to our children and persuade them to walk therein.

In the light of world experience and of world conditions to-day, what is the duty of the churches of America?

Part IV.

**THE DUTY OF THE CHURCHES OF AMER-
ICA IN THE LIGHT OF NATIONAL
AND OF WORLD CONDITIONS**



Part IV.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCHES OF AMERICA IN THE LIGHT OF NATIONAL AND OF WORLD CONDITIONS

I.

The World's Confusion

When this commission was established, most of us thought that the conditions for securing permanent peace in the world were being rapidly fulfilled. Not only had the integration of the activities and interests of the great nations through commerce, travel, science, education, banking facilities, postal communication, and numberless international societies been proceeding for several decades at a rapidly increasing rate, but two great international conferences at The Hague had been held by which important steps had been officially taken for the establishment of an international court for arbitral justice and of boards of arbitration and conciliation.

It was widely supposed three years ago that those vast international interests which lose by war were strong enough to make war on a large scale impossible. Financial institutions, chambers of commerce, labor organizations, and all peace movements definitely opposed war as a method for settling international difficulties. The leaders and members of the churches of England and Germany, moreover, were earnestly cultivating each other's friendship as a means of establishing right international relations and had just invited their American brethren to unite with them in this endeavor.

In spite, however, of these facts and forces, the present overwhelming tragedy is raging. Two great groups of nations are in mortal combat, bringing ruin and suffering unprecedented in human experience, and accompanied by hatreds and passions which have long been supposed to characterize only savage, uncivilized, and unchristian peoples. Our own nation, moreover, is by no means free from the same savage and unchristian passions. Every so-called neutral nation is, as a

matter of fact, intimately involved in the tragedy. The economic forces of the entire world are virtually cooperating with one group or the other of the belligerents, and all civilized peoples are profoundly stirred with hopes and fears, suspicions and apprehensions. To be neutral has proved, in fact, impossible.

A mighty change of mind, moreover, has been sweeping over our own country. We have become deeply concerned with problems of national security. Our people have long placed large reliance on fair international dealing, and on the adjustment of difficulties by rational and judicial processes, by mutual concessions and by methods of conciliation. We have believed in treaties of peace and arbitration. We have placed our trust in the good faith and good-will of nations. This state of mind, however, has been rudely shocked. Distrust and suspicion are arising. Belief is growing that national safety depends first of all upon readiness for instant and effective conflict. Our international confidence has been profoundly shaken. We begin to doubt the value of treaty pledges and obligations.

Emphasis, accordingly, is now being placed upon the rapid development of a navy and an army adequate on a moment's notice to protect us from attack by any foe, however powerful.

These changes of thought and feeling have taken place not alone among those who make no professions of faith in Christ or of being his disciples. In all our churches, among both the laity and the clergy, many are openly saying that the *first* duty of these days is "military preparedness."

The world's tragedy has, moreover, disclosed how defective is our entire modern system of international relations. For decades statesmen and citizens had been both consciously and unconsciously inviting conflict. What had the churches of Europe and America done in the attempt to find Christian ways of settling international difficulties, and of promoting international confidence and good-will? For decades a few pacifists had proposed judicial methods for solving difficulties between nations. Had the churches given substantial support to these proposals and efforts, the catastrophe might have been averted.

An ominous situation is developing to-day in the United States. Threatening words are being hurled across the Atlantic and the Pacific. World conquest and control, through lavish

use of "bombs and dollars," are being urged by American imperialistic expansionists. Consider a few recent utterances:

"World empire," says the *Seven Seas*, the organ of the Army and Navy League (September, 1915), "is the only logical and natural aim of a nation. The true militarist believes that pacificism is the masculine and humanitarianism is the feminine manifestation of national degeneracy." "It is the absolute right of a nation to live to its fullest intensity, to expand, to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means, such as armed conquest, commerce, and diplomacy" (November, 1915).

"All nations are and must be selfish," writes the *Washington Herald*. "At the close of the present struggle we shall be in a position, in all respects but arms and the will to arm, to control the destinies of the terrestrial globe. On the other hand, the European nations, impoverished financially and with their resources of 'cannon food' materially depleted, will not only be armed to the teeth, but will have the immense reserves of spiritual vigor that war always begets. We shall look to them very much as a fat, white caterpillar does to a party of hungry ants.

"The struggle from which we will not be permitted to stand aside may not, and probably will not, come for fifty years, but it will come, and fifty years is little time in which to prepare for it.

"Great Britain and the United States going hand-in-hand to lead the world into a warless era is only a beautiful dream. Bombs and dollars are the only things that count to-day. We have plenty of one. Let us lay in a good supply of the other and blast a path to world leadership as soon as an opportunity presents itself."

"Japan has beaten China," writes the *Evening Journal of New York* (April 26, 1916), "has beaten Russia, and does not doubt that she can beat the United States.

"Japan knows that she is to fight us some day, and this is her chance. Europe could not interfere, if Europe wanted to. England, with her big fleet, could not do less than wish good luck to Japan, her ally—Japan could reasonably demand that England do more.

"All the nations in Europe hate us; big fleet owners and owners of trained armies hate us. Some hate us because we have supplied weapons and lent money to others. Others hate

us because we have not done everything that we were told to do. In a word, Japan knows that she is ready for war and we are not. Therefore Japan is insistent and insolent, and will become more insolent and more insistent as our complications increase.

"Japan is ready now. Japan has 2,000,000 men trained to fight now, and weapons with which they can be armed at a moment's notice."

The foregoing sentences doubtless represent the views of extremists, but here they are, and they do represent the ambitions and aims of some of our people. Many of our most responsible leaders are profoundly anxious. The only world they see is a world of warring nation. The strong prevail and prosper. The weak are doomed. We are loudly told that Europe's war should be our warning and that America's only hope for security and peace in this warring world is to be even more fully prepared for war than all possible assailants.

In the presence of these conditions, national and international, what is our Christian duty? What should the churches of America say in regard to these matters? And what should they do? Are the churches of America to accept the present world situation as something beyond them for which they have no responsibility, and over which they have no control?

What part are the churches of America to play in the immediate future of the United States? Are they to be an important or a negligible factor in opposing national selfishness, ambitions, and injustice, and in establishing wholesome international relations? That will depend on their attitude to the pressing problems of the new times and on their ability to act together. The times challenge the churches to high and noble action.

If they hold themselves strictly aloof from international problems, if they say these are questions with which the churches are not concerned, they will of course do nothing. It is indeed true that these problems have important political and economic aspects. But they are fundamentally moral and spiritual. If, because of the inactivity of the churches, the tragedy of war should overtake America, would not the impotence and bankruptcy of American Christianity be loudly and justly proclaimed?

Profitless to mankind will be the influence of the churches, if, in timid hesitation, they merely rest content with the policy of peace and security whose chief reliance is vast military preparedness. Such a course would be the acceptance of the doctrine of materialism and would not only fail to restrain military excess and hinder the subordination of military power to reason and to noble ends, but would be a confession of the failure of the ideals of Christianity.

Mere opposition on the other hand to military preparedness, and condemnation of the wickedness and horror of war likewise will avail little. Invective, however fierce, denunciation, however strenuous, will be fruitless.

Only as the churches of America positively adopt an attitude and a policy of constructive statesmanship, courageously endorsing and promoting those practical programs that embody in international relations the ideals of universal human brotherhood, can they take their proper place in the moral and spiritual leadership of the nation and of the race. They must insist that the pressing need for our day and generation is comprehensive policies and constructive activities creating a truly Christian world order. They must hold that for the long future, policies and activities that beget mutual confidence and good-will among the nations should occupy our first thought, should be given our supreme endeavors and should not for one moment be obscured by the confusion of the moment. Their definition and adoption constitute our pressing need. These are ends to which the thought and energy of our own nation should be imperiously directed.

The League to Enforce Peace aims at the construction of international machinery by which to substitute calm reason, impartial law, and friendly conciliation for hot-headed resort to war. The World's Court League, the Woman's Peace Party, socialism, the American Federation of Labor, and other movements are all forward with their peace policies and programs. The American Federation of Labor already plans for an international labor congress to be held in Europe at the same time and place as the official peace conference of the belligerent nations. Many groups of peace advocates are organized and are working earnestly along their respective lines.

But all these movements will fail unless they are permeated through and through with Christian international idealism.

To infuse this into all world movements is the distinctive and supreme task and duty of the Christian church. The time has come for mobilizing the Christian forces of America and of the world for establishing Christian Internationalism.

What, then, exactly is our Christian ideal? What are the principles that should guide our conduct in the present conditions of our nation and our world? What is required of him who in these times would be a faithful follower of Jesus? These questions concern not merely the spirit of the disciple, but his conduct. What must we do to be saved ourselves, to save our nation, and to help save the world?

These are the questions which demand an answer. It is not enough that individual leaders silently think them through for themselves. 18,000,000 members in our Protestant churches look to the Federal Council to help them face these perplexing, practical problems in these tragic times. They wish to know this—and not they alone, but all our people wish to know it—is the kingdom of God a practical ideal which we may still pursue with hope? Or is it an iridescent dream for those to cherish who retire from this bewildering world in which brute force is so mighty a factor?

Have Herod and Pilate conquered? Do we abandon the leadership of Jesus? Is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ driven from his throne? Darkness indeed covers the world. The rocks are riven. The earth is shaken. The veil of the temple is rent from top to bottom. Do these things mean that Christ is dead and will be buried and lost forevermore? Or will he rise again? Shall we see the Son of Man sitting in power and coming on the clouds of heaven?

II.

Our Confession

We confess with sorrow and with shame our failure in teaching and in guiding our people. We have not seen the world as it is. We have left to selfish interests the determination of our international policies. We have not cried out as we should against wrongs committed. We have not noted our own disregard of our national moral obligations. We have not insisted that the principles of righteousness, justice, and good-will toward other peoples and races should control our legislation in matters involving their interests and welfare.

We have been so concerned with our several denominational, ecclesiastical, doctrinal, and financial interests that the weightier matters of the kingdom of God have not received the attention, the time, or the effort we should have given them. Our denominational divisions have crippled our actions.

Moreover, we have failed to teach the youth in our schools and Sunday-schools the true understanding of history. Our boys and girls have not been instructed in the principles of Jesus as they apply to international and interracial relations.

We have not been filled with glowing enthusiasm for right ways of settling international affairs. We have not exerted our minds or our wills to establish world justice through world organization. We have not shown as we should to our people or to our rulers that righteousness exalts a nation and that international sin is a shame to our people. We have not insisted that the ways of helpfulness and good-will lead to peace. We have not taught that in the relations of nations the giving and securing of justice is the imperative demand, and not merely the assertion of rights. We have not exalted the teachings and spirit of Jesus as the only teachings and the only spirit by which to guide our relations with other nations.

With humility, with penitence, and with contrition we confess our sins and our failures. We beseech forgiveness from our Master. We resolve anew that with his aid we will undertake more faithfully the great task he has committed to

our hands. We confess again our loyalty to his cause, our adherence to his principles, our desire to be filled with his spirit and dominated by his will, and to share with him in his work of bringing the kingdoms of this world into full obedience to God, who is Lord over all, blessed evermore.

III.

Our Grounds of Hope

God has not abandoned the world. He is still on his throne. Out of the midst of the world's tragedy he speaks to us and to the world. His last word has not been spoken. He is teaching the world that injustice and wrong between nations, as between individuals, bring their sure recompense. Whatsoever a nation soweth, that shall it also reap. Through sufferings immeasurable, God is teaching lessons that he could teach in no other way.

But our hope is not merely because God is on his throne and is teaching us, but also because in every land are signs innumerable that the spirit of Jesus has taken more leadership in the affairs of man than first appears. The church, in spite of sins and failures, has nevertheless achieved much. She has not labored altogether in vain. Her success is genuine, though limited. Her failure, though disconcerting, is not total.

The church has aroused in men the belief that in spite of the present tragedy, war shall cease, and a new heaven and a new earth shall be our home.

No other war has ever excited so intense horror of war as this one. Men gaze upon it aghast and with hearts torn with agony. A great sigh goes up daily to God out of the heart of mankind. It was not always so. War has been horrible from the beginning, but not always has it kindled feelings of abhorrence in the hearts of the masses. For ages war was a fixed feature of the normal life of mankind. However protracted or frightful the carnage, the world conscience did not cry out in protest and condemnation. A new temper rules the world, the creation of the religion of Jesus. Wherever men have been taught to pray, "Our Father;" wherever they have gazed upon the Man of Sorrows dying on the cross, a conscience has been awakened which writhes in pain in the presence of the cruelties and inhumanities of war. War has not yet been abolished, but the races which Christ has most deeply touched recoil from it as a horrifying atrocity. It is

this instinctive shudder of the Christianized heart which will some day shatter to pieces the entire enginery of destruction. Out of this sensitiveness of conscience, there has come a divine impatience with war.

Moreover, we cannot fail to recognize the noble spirit inherent in man. At the call of supposed duty, in defense as all have been taught, of home and country, the millions have gone forth to sacrificial service in the face of dangers and suffering unprecedented in human warfare. The courage, loyalty, patience, and unselfish devotion of millions at the front and the no less heroic devotion of millions of wives and mothers at home testify to the inherent moral greatness of human nature. While we condemn with hot indignation the vast, cruel, and wicked system that produces war, we cannot but admire the heroic spirit of service and self-sacrifice that finds so striking expression through war. It gives promise of a more splendid warfare when all this heroism and self-sacrifice are mobilized for service to Jesus, for establishing the kingdom of God throughout the earth.

The church has lifted higher standards of righteousness than the world dreamed and has led it to condemn many kinds of war which once received universal sanction. Wars of wanton aggression are now denounced. In pre-Christian days kings had no scruples in marching forth to overwhelm an unoffending foe. The hearts of rulers have been strangely altered. The Christian church has wrought the change. No warrior of antiquity apologized for fighting. To-day all the nations declare that they are fighting in self-defense. This is because the church of Christ has changed the thinking of the world.

The conduct also of men has been transformed. Through sixty generations the church has wooed the human heart to pity. Pity has not yet induced the world to sheathe its sword, but even in the whirlwind of battle, the human heart now shows compassion. The radiant beauty of the human soul has flashed repeatedly through the smoke of battle, giving us cheer and comfort. While men have rushed from land to land to destroy human life, other men have hastened to save. Generals and admirals have not been more conspicuous than surgeons and nurses, and the latter have received admiration and gratitude which the former have been denied. Never did men in pre-Christian times travel to distant lands to bind up the wounds

of strangers. The church of Christ has breathed into our civilization a tenderness which cannot be crushed even under the wheels of the chariots of war. Behold the Red Cross—a flower of Paradise blooming on the field of blood! That flower is proof that Jesus of Nazareth has passed our way.

In the world into which Jesus came, triumphal arches were erected only for men of blood, and no one was called a son of the mighty whose sword was not invincible. The world has traveled far since the Galilean peasant declared, "Blessed are the meek," and "Blessed are the peacemakers." And if the world has changed its estimate of peace and of war, it is because the church has been not altogether faithless in proclaiming the message which the Master entrusted to those who love him. Much has been accomplished, although our achievement falls below our dreams. We should therefore be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, confident that our labor shall not be in vain in the Lord.

Jesus of Nazareth stands to-day as he has ever stood, the heaven-sent Leader and Savior of mankind, the one who alone has the words of eternal life. However unfaithful his followers, he himself has been true. No principle of his has proved deficient or false. No doctrine of his has failed in the fiery test of experience. Howitzers have not shriveled one of his words. Not one of his ideals has been submerged. Like stars they remind us that God is in his heaven and that all will sometime be right with the world. Something has indeed collapsed, but it is not the Christian gospel. The doctrine of force has broken down. The doctrine of love still stands. The ideals of Mars have faded, the ideals of Jesus in undiminished splendor shine on. We are face to face with the wreck of unchristian diplomacy. We look upon the nemesis of antichristian principles. The rain has decended, the floods have come, the winds have blown, and have beaten upon the house which short-sighted statesmen have builded, and it has fallen and great is the fall of it. We ponder again the apostolic affirmations: "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." "Neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved."

IV.

The Dawn of a New Era in Human History

A new era is beginning in human history. The world will never again be what it has been. The world must become infinitely better or it will become infinitely worse. Which shall it be? That depends upon our understanding of our times and upon our corresponding deeds.

Steam and electricity are banishing time and space and are making all nations and races immediate neighbors. Science, popular education, travel, commerce, postal facilities, literature, and the press are bringing all mankind toward a common life and a common mind. Each nation and race, on the other hand, has and will continue to have its own special characteristics and endowments and each seems to become increasingly self-conscious, ambitious, and determined. The conquest of the resources of nature is bringing undreamed wealth and luxury to its possessors. A new rivalry has arisen between those virile and advanced races which seek world-wide opportunity.

These conditions have produced an extraordinary intertwining of the interests and activities of the entire world and induced vast movements of population. Unprecedented occupation and development of new territories are taking place.

All these have reenforced the movement toward democracy. Opportunity, knowledge, and power have come in extraordinary measure to the common man. The people are getting control. Opposition to special privilege is growing. This latter, however, seeks to maintain its ancient place and power, resorting at times even to war in order to stem the rising tide against it. This in itself is an evidence of the progress of democracy.

Many conscious international efforts and movements have also taken place. Numberless international gatherings have been held and societies formed. Financial, cultural, educational, commercial, and scientific agencies and facilities have been established, wonderfully knitting together the life of the peoples.

During recent decades important steps have been taken for closer political and governmental relations of the nations.

Treaties of arbitration have been made, many serious difficulties have been settled by methods of arbitration and conciliation, and plans for permanent international organization have been formulated and carried far along toward realization.

Thus there has been extraordinary preparation, physical, scientific, intellectual, moral, and governmental for the new era in human history, an era in which the nations may maintain cordial and helpful relations, and settle their international problems by reason and adjustment rather than by resort to war.

On the other hand, vast problems are arising directly from these world tendencies. The rivalries of expanding nations in their dealings with the governmental, trade, and economic development of politically backward nations and undeveloped regions create problems of the gravest character.

A new Asia, moreover, is rapidly coming into being, determined, ambitious, self-conscious, equipped with the mechanical, political, social, and industrial devices and methods of the Occident, and increasingly sensitive to rights invaded, to differential race legislation, and to humiliating race discrimination by Western people.

In view of all these facts and conditions what are the fundamental principles and ideals that should guide us in this complex era upon which mankind has entered?

V.

Our Principles and Our Ideals

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." We are all sons of one Father and members one of another. "Above all nations is humanity."

From time immemorial, however, we have lived in communities and tribes. We have been isolated by mountains and oceans. We have developed into great races and nations, in profound ignorance of one another, with differing languages and religions, ideas and ideals, and differing also in gifts and characteristics, habits and customs.

Out of these conditions have come the rivalries and conflicts of tribes, the ambitions and collisions of nations, the wars and the tragedies that have so mightily scourged mankind.

We believe, nevertheless, that the Father and Creator of men knows and loves all his children and includes in his plans all these facts.

We believe, moreover, that he has no pet race whom he loves and no special people whom he hates because of their race. He is no respecter of persons. To him there is neither Jew nor Gentile, bondman nor freeman, Scythian, Roman, nor Greek, white, black, brown, nor yellow. All are his children.

Futile is the effort to appraise the wars of the past or to declare God's attitude toward them. We are not omniscient. But we know that the days of isolated nations and of mutual ignorance are past. We know that God now calls men everywhere to newness and largeness of life through the Man whom he has ordained, Jesus Christ, and through fraternal relations and Christian fellowship with all our fellow men.

Jesus has shown us the way of life—for nations no less than for individuals. He calls us to forgive those who wrong us, to love those who hate us, and to help and to pray for those who would harm us. He has shown us how to conquer hatred, how to turn enemies into friends. He calls us to a life of universal brotherhood.

Not enough, however, is it to proclaim our principles and our ideals in vague generalities, however beautiful in the abstract. We must express them in the concrete. We must show how they bear upon the present world of strife and passion. How shall we, Christians of America, face Europe which we begin to suspect and to fear? How shall we deal with Mexico? What should be our treatment of Japan and of Japanese here in America? Of China and Chinese here? What should American Christians think and do about plans for large military and naval expansion? What is our duty in regard to military training in our public schools? What about universal conscription for military service? These are the questions over which our people are struggling.

In the light of these considerations we herewith declare in humility but with conviction, and in terms the most concrete, the principles that should guide our thought and control our actions. First of all there are certain ideas and assumptions which the Christian church must repudiate.

VI

The Rejections of Christianity

We reject with all the strength of Christian conviction those pagan conceptions of man, of society, of nations and races, out of which human conflicts arise.

We not only cannot accept, but we must indignantly reject the assumptions,

That the state consists primarily of physical force.

That there is nothing higher than the state and that a state or nation is not subject to the moral law.

That sovereignty is absolute and unlimited.

That might makes right.

That an expanding nation has the right to steal and rob wholesale, to deceive and overreach whole peoples, and to kill and murder by the ten thousand.

That exploitation of backward peoples, wringing of concessions from incompetent governments, lording it over helpless population, haughtily boasting of the right to dominate land or sea, and threats of foreign ministers and diplomats are right and lawful for strong nations.

That the whole duty of the individual citizen is limited to his duty to his state, his people, or his race.

That self-preservation and self-aggrandisement are the first laws for national life.

That nations are necessarily and rightly selfish and may rightly pursue their selfish interests, limited only by their power.

That nations being naturally enemies, war always has been, now is, and always will be, inevitable.

That since military power alone guarantees safety, nations should be armed to the teeth.

That force is the sole guaranty of national honor.

That in international affairs the foremost duty of governments is to establish and maintain the rights of their citizens and protect their commercial interests.

VII.

The Affirmations of Christianity

We accept and affirm with all the strength of Christian conviction those Christian conceptions of man and society, of races, nations, and governments, upon which the permanent welfare of mankind rests, and through the universal adoption of which world justice can alone be established and durable peace alone be maintained.

We accept and affirm:

That above all nations is humanity.

That nations are neighbors, members of one great human family.

That the essence and the unity of a nation is the mental and moral life of its citizens.

That men live, work, and develop in social groups and political states primarily through their spiritual relations and interests.

That no nation is complete in itself, nor can it attain its own highest life, except through wholesome relations with the rest of mankind.

That the real welfare of each is inextricably bound up with that of all, and that the welfare of all is dependent on the welfare of each.

That all sovereignty is limited and relative, subject to the Infinite Will and to the ethical restrictions and limitations of all humanity.

That cooperation and mutual consideration should take the place of destructive competitions and ruinous rivalries of peoples and nations.

That might brings responsibility to respect and to secure the rights of others.

That the use of force should be restricted to the restraint of violence, the preservation of order, and the due protection of the lives and legitimate interests of citizens.

That universal disarmament should be the ideal towards which Christian nations should direct immediate, serious, and earnest effort.

That no nation can venture to disarm alone. One lawless nation armed is a menace to all. If one is armed, then all must arm. Therefore, none should arm.

That in place of armaments, methods should be established whereby world justice may be secured through world laws and world organization.

That it is wrong for nations, as for individuals, to steal and lie and kill.

That unselfishness is required of nations no less than of individuals.

That forbearance and forgiveness, service and sacrifice are binding upon nations as well as upon individuals.

That great and wealthy nations are stewards and trustees for the welfare of small, weak, and undeveloped peoples.

That true national greatness comes from service to the world, not from domination over it.

That national honor is established by righteousness and justice, by deeds of good-will and of helpfulness.

That all the races and nations, great and small alike, possess the right to share in the world's resources and in opportunity for self-directing and expanding life, in harmonious cooperation with the rest of mankind.

That the largest possible development of international commerce and interchange of science, literature, art, and education, should be promoted.

That in the interest of establishing one common human brotherhood, Christian truth and life should be advanced in every land through Christian missions in the modern spirit of recognition of all that is good and true and beautiful in other faiths.

That war should be fearlessly exposed as the supreme denial of the brotherhood of nations, and as the destruction of resources sorely needed for the complete subjugation of the earth to the service of man, and as the negation of all morality by its sanction of wholesale deceit, theft, murder, and its unchaining of lust.

That the superiority of the Christian method of overcoming evil with good and of the rational settlement of international difficulties has been repeatedly demonstrated and is in startling contrast to the utter failure of the methods of war.

That justice and right dealing in our international affairs is impossible apart from the development throughout our land

of that spirit of Christian good-will and brotherhood which must express itself also in the establishment of social justice and right dealing in our own industrial and economic problems.

That social and industrial justice are essential for national vigor and well-grounded patriotism.

That the churches and Christians of America should proceed first of all to Christianize our own international relations.

That Christian men in all lands should cooperate in establishing a Christian world order, in which the principles of universal justice and good-will shall be embodied in the laws, institutions, and customs that control their governments in international relations.

VIII.

Our Program

The foregoing principles and convictions, however, will avail nothing, unless they are translated into concrete proposals calling for specific activities. We accordingly outline a program for the Christians and the churches of America. For the cure of so frightful and so complex a disease as this that afflicts mankind, no single or simple prescription will suffice. Our program accordingly falls into many parts, all of which are important.

CHRISTIAN CONSECRATION

No important spiritual movement or moral reform has ever taken place without prayer, faith, and consecration. The demons of race pride, prejudice, and selfishness will never be cast out by prudential considerations and "enlightened self-interest." These may indeed lead to certain developmnets of international organization, but they cannot and will not produce that attitude of mind and fervor of spirit upon which alone can permanent world justice be established and durable peace be insured.

For the attainment of the right spirit in our international relations, our churches and our people must have a larger measure of the spirit of Jesus. Our modern task must be grappled with by pastors and laymen as a task in moral and spiritual life no less than as a task in international economics and politics. We must gain a more vital grasp on the Christian doctrine of the atonement. We must recognize it not only as a mystery to be joyfully accepted and a profound doctrine to be believed, but also as a mighty force to mold life and guide conduct. Self-sacrificing activity, though it cost heavily, is the supreme teaching and practise of Christianity. This is the secret of its power. Only suffering love can redeem the world—not only the sacrificial love of God in Christ—but the resulting sacrificial love of the disciples of Jesus. A church that does not beget sacrificial living among its members is powerless. Christ's redemptive and reconciling work for the world is not complete till all his disciples have shared with

him in his suffering for the sin of the world that they may share with him in its reconciliation and redemption.

God is in all Christians reconciling the world to himself in proportion as they are loyal disciples of their Master, filled with his spirit, doing his work in his way.

If the church of America is to create those conditions in America by which alone America's international relations are to be made Christian, we must begin within the church itself. We must beget men and women by the million, filled with that spirit of Jesus that conquers selfishness, ill will, and malice, and that through loving self-devotion to the welfare of men, persuades them to love God and to do his will. The distinctive and supreme work of the church, as of the individual Christian, is the work of reconciling men to God through lives of prayer, faith, self-sacrificing devotion, and love. This spirit will find expression in many forms of action.

SACRIFICIAL GENEROSITY

Let Americans begin with abounding generosity for the relief of suffering. The appalling misery of the millions—who individually are as innocent as we—calls for corresponding generosity from us. Their unparalleled needs and our unparalleled prosperity impose upon us a duty commensurate with both.

How are we responding to this duty? Should we not hang our heads with shame when we learn that England and France, Canada and Australia, in spite of their crushing calamity, have contributed more per capita in cash for the relief of Belgians, Servians, and Armenians, than have prosperous Americans? Here is cause for anxiety. Has our Christian sympathy waxed cold? Are we indifferent to the sufferings of our brothers and sisters? Are we subject to the solemn warnings of St. James? If we give not of our abundance to those who lack bread and clothing; if we say to them, "Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled," how can we say that we have faith? How can we claim to be Christians, to be followers of Jesus? Did not he himself warn his first disciples, saying, "Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven." Are we subject to his condemnation?

What then should the churches of America do? Scores of millions of dollars are needed for this work. Our people have

the money. If the pastors are faithful and the churches are systematic in this undertaking, it can be secured. Let every minister press home the parable of the Judge at the judgment day. Are we prepared to hear from his lips the dread words, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels: for I was hungry, and ye did not give me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not."

But not enough will it be for our preachers to exhort. Our united churches must enter upon a mighty, persistent, systematic campaign. We must undertake this work with the skill and the method of big business.

Why should not this great Council of the churches grapple with the problem? Might not each Christian in the land be asked to give each month, so long as the war lasts, a sum equal to the average income of one day? Not many would suffer unduly from such a gift. Indeed, should not every man be asked to give till he feels it? Compared with the losses and sufferings of the millions in Europe, would even this self-sacrifice of prosperous Americans be worth mentioning?

But what glorious works of benevolence would follow! Not less than \$25,000,000 would be available monthly for relief work. How it would win their hearts, as well as relieve their wants. And if at the close of the war a great thank-offering of one week's income should close the sacrificial effort of American Christians for their suffering brethren in Europe, how mighty would be the spiritual uplift for us! America would save her soul. The hatreds, suspicions, and animosities that have been developing through many unavoidable circumstances of this great tragedy would be wiped out. The hearts of the nations of Europe would gain fresh confidence in mankind and in us. And would not such deeds of good-will do more to overcome the dangers of conflict between America and any of the nations of Europe than all the dreadnoughts we could build?

Our Congress has voted \$600,000,000 this year for the increase of our navy. Next year and the following year other enormous sums will follow. Should not our people do something parallel for the promotion of good-will and the establishment of mutual confidence?

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING NATIONS

The establishment of friendly relations with Mexico and Latin America has, it is true, special difficulties. The situation is just now especially complicated. Some things, however, are plain. The policy of our people and our government must be guided from first to last by the principles so clearly expressed by President Wilson in his address at Mobile. "We must prove ourselves their friends and champions upon terms of equality and honor. We cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality. We cannot be friends at all except upon the terms of honor. And we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with ours or not. It is a very dangerous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interest. . . . The United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest. . . . She must regard it as one of the duties of friendship to see that from no quarter are material interests made superior to human liberty and national opportunity."

In carrying out these splendid principles our people and our government must see to it that the political principles and laws underlying our relations with these nations are so modernized and universalized that they may be accepted by all civilized peoples.

Arrangements, moreover, should be made for the exchange of students. Those who come to us from Mexico and South America should be given opportunity to see our best Christian life, and live in our Christian homes. Few measures would so effectively disarm prejudice against us and annul suspicion.

Instead of regarding Mexico chiefly as a field for profitable financial investment, we must come to view it as also a field for unselfish service.

Many agencies should be set to work to help the suffering, educate the ignorant, inspire the hopeless, and bring the living Christ into the hearts of the millions.

LEGISLATION FOR THE ADEQUATE PROTECTION OF ALIENS

The government of the United States is bound by treaty pledges to every nation to afford "the most constant protection and security" for the "persons and property" of aliens resident

in our land. Similar promises of protection and security are given in return, for our citizens in foreign lands.

In spite, however, of these pledges and duties, the government of the United States, as stated by recent Presidents, is unable adequately to fulfil its obligations, owing to the lack of suitable federal legislation. Presidents Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft all have urged Congress to pass the legislation needed, but in vain.

President McKinley in December, 1899, used these words: "For the fourth time in the present decade question has arisen with the government of Italy in regard to the lynching of Italian subjects."

President Roosevelt stated in his annual message in December, 1906, that, "One of the greatest embarrassments attending the performance of our international obligations is the fact that the statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate."

The recurrent and humiliating experience of lynch law in various parts of our country make possible the plunging of our country, at a moment's notice, into the most serious relations with any one of a dozen foreign nations.

Must a serious catastrophe overtake us before we enact the needed laws? Are we, as a nation, earnest that nations shall observe their treaty obligations toward us? Then let us at once set our own house in order. Let us see to it that our hands at least are clean.

Even though politicians and political parties are indifferent to the moral obligations of our government, let Christians take hold of the matter and insist that Congress shall promptly devote time and thought to the passage of the needed law.

EQUALITY IN THE TREATMENT OF ALL NATIONS

In 1888 Congress passed a law dealing with Chinese, which our supreme court promptly declared to be a contravention of our treaties with China. For twenty-eight years that law has stood, bringing constant humiliation and indignities upon Chinese, and dishonor upon the fair name of America. The administration of our Chinese exclusion laws has been left in the hands of those whose methods and spirit have often been a disgrace to us and a cause of wrath and indignation to the Chinese. An anti-American Chinese boycott crippled American commerce in 1905-6 so that it has never recovered. The same causes have tended to alienate Chinese friendship for America.

On the other hand, the return by us to China of the Boxer surplus indemnity, the demand of our government upon nations of Europe for the maintenance of the "open door" and the "integrity of the Chinese Empire," together with the evident absence of Far Eastern ambitions on our part, have, with other factors, made a deep impression upon the Chinese in China.

But the situation as a whole is far from satisfactory or right. We urgently need legislation which, while it shall afford to the Pacific Coast that protection from a swamping Asiatic immigration which it rightly demands, shall nevertheless be free from invidious and humiliating features and treatment which Asiatics justly resent.

No more important problem faces the people of America than the adjustment of our attitude, our treatment, and our laws dealing with Asiatics. One of the mighty problems of the twentieth century is that of establishing right relations between the white and the yellow races. And in the solution of this problem America is to play a leading part.

The churches should induce the Christian people to study this problem. They should understand its nature and find a solution in harmony with their Christian ideals of human brotherhood. And they should insist that these principles be incorporated into the laws of our land.

Whatever be the details, the fundamental principles of the needed legislation are clear. Our laws must be free from invidious and humiliating race discrimination. Citizenship should be grounded solely upon personal qualifications.

These principles do not necessarily carry with them a policy of free immigration. They only require that, if the restriction of immigration be regarded as expedient, it shall be a principle of restriction that is just and equitable. Only so many immigrants should be admitted from any land as we can Americanize. All who are admitted should be given equal treatment and opportunity, regardless of race.

THE CHURCHES AND THE ARMY AND NAVY

The United States has an army and a navy. What shall be the attitude of the churches to them? And what shall we think and say about universal military service, about conscription, about military instruction in primary and secondary schools, and about training camps?

As Christians, no less than as citizens, we have duties to the state and to its institutions and methods of doing its work,

which we may not ignore. The state must keep order. It must protect its citizens in their legitimate travels and business enterprises. It must protect the innocent and establish the right. As the world exists to-day, an army and a navy are essential for doing these things.

We believe that soldiers may and should be Christians, that service in the army and navy may and should be honorable and Christian. But we hold that the army and the navy, their men and their officers should ever remember what is the real and only purpose of their being, namely, to establish right and abolish wrong.

These rights and wrongs, moreover, are not to be determined *ex parte*, but by due process of law. The true ideal for the use of military power is an enlarged conception of police service.

The fact must be recognized that the life of soldiers is inevitably abnormal and easily tends to laxity of moral standards. Special precautions, therefore, should be taken to protect our boys from the dangers and sins into which soldiers too easily fall. All the force of military authority and discipline should be on the side of high thinking and clean living. Chaplains of the highest ability and in sufficient numbers should be appointed with every military and naval group. Adequate facilities for wholesome reading and recreation should be provided. Attendance on moral instruction and religious services should be required. The use of all alcoholic drinks should be absolutely forbidden and every means should be taken for abolishing the brothel in the vicinity of barracks and camps.

But this is not enough. They must be given, as far as possible, the wholesome helpfulness of the normal social life. The commission is in receipt of letters from officers and soldiers in the Panama Canal zone urging us to assist in relieving them of the social disqualifications which prevent normal social life. We do not believe that our government has given adequately serious attention to this question. Certain compulsory rules as to the wearing of khaki uniforms at all times prevent the soldiers from mingling as they should with American residents in the zone.

We realize that the question with which we are dealing is unpleasant and one that is usually avoided and evaded. We believe, however, that it is our duty to present it to this Council.

We fully realize the unusual and excessive temptations of our soldiers, and we do not believe that they are any weaker than men in other walks of life. Indeed we believe that on the whole they may be stronger. The circumstances of their life are such, however, as seriously to aggravate one great evil which we must sadly admit is all too common. Largely owing, we believe, to the circumstances which we have indicated, social vice in the army has become a serious problem. So serious indeed that the military authorities in Panama and elsewhere have adopted a principle of protective regulation by which no restraint is placed upon the men other than that they register with the physician before subjecting themselves to the danger of contracting disease, and that they visit the physician for prophylactic treatment.

We do not believe this situation can be met by mere denunciation, and we have already recommended constructive measures. But nevertheless we condemn and denounce the custom expressed in the following words of a medical officer of the United States Army.

"Medical officers are required to instruct the men in the nature and dangers of these diseases and the non-necessity of exposure to them. We cannot expect all of our men to avoid exposure by reason of any moral suasion, so we say to them: 'Be continent, but if you cannot, then protect yourself,' and we tell them how to do it."

We abhor the sentiment of Hudson Maxim in *Defenseless America*:

"The unpleasant truth should be realized that invading armies must, with other luxuries, have women. As a result they leave a large progeny—wrens in the nest of the dove of peace. Hence, inasmuch as soldiers are the pick of the manhood of their country, they are likely to do about as much toward securing the survival of the fit in an enemy's country as they would have in their own country."

We maintain that our army and our navy should be as free from lust as are our colleges. That it should be as profitable and as honorable to enter the army for three years as to go to college, that parents should be as able to look with confidence on the moral life and tone of their boys in military and naval service as anywhere else.

We maintain that the life and work, the mental and moral training, and the pay provided for those who join the army

and the navy should be so worthy and attractive that conscription should not be necessary.

We cordially approve of the introduction of adequate physical training in all our schools. We oppose and condemn all training and instruction which would make our young people believe that brute force is the solvent of international problems, or that a nation is concerned primarily with establishing its rights and is not particularly concerned with its duties. We denounce that tendency of the times which seeks to militarize the thinking of our people and to place national physical power as the sign of national greatness. Our educational processes must not be subjected to the censorship or control of military boards or commissions. We denounce those military trainers of our boys who cultivate race bitterness and animosity by placing as targets for practise the figures of clearly designated hypothetical foes.

We call upon our churches and our Christians to unite their forces to surround our army and our navy with wholesome Christian influence.

WORLD RELATIONS AND WORLD ORGANIZATION

We believe that the time has come for America to abandon her policy of "splendid isolation." Our interests, our welfare, and our people are intimately and inextricably intertwined with those of other lands. We must take our place of responsibility and service among the nations of the earth. We should now openly avow our readiness to cooperate in establishing a league of nations.

Such a league of nations will necessitate the holding of international conferences, meeting periodically, and the establishment of a world court of arbitral justice and boards of arbitration and conciliation. In all these we should join. We should also join in an adequate declaration of the fundamental rights and duties of nations, to constitute the basis of international law.

Such a world organization and world government can of course come into existence only step by step, through a process of growth. But the churches of America may do much to help or to hinder this growth by their interest or their apathy. Should not Christians, and especially American Christians, be foremost in that intelligent understanding of the world situation so that America may be ready to cooperate with

other nations in adopting those policies of international organization upon which order rests, justice becomes possible, and the settlement of international difficulties may be reached by reason and law, in place of savage appeal to brute force?

Nations are in different stages of growth and decay. These lead to constantly changing relations with corresponding needs and demands for readjustments. In the past the most important of these readjustments have been reached by war. Any successful proposal, therefore, for a substitute for war must provide, not only for justice based upon existing conditions, but also for the readjustments inevitably demanded by virile and expanding peoples. Processes that are merely legal, which do not make room for such readjustments, cannot prevent wars. The world therefore needs:

The attainment of substantial agreement among the nations as to the rights and duties of nations.

The formation of a league of nations that desire to establish world order, world justice, and world peace.

The creation by the league of nations of adequate agencies and processes, legislative, judicial, and executive, for the attainment of justice.

The extension of the principle of democracy alike to the relations of nations and to the inner governmental processes of each nation, providing thus for economic adjustment and social reform.

The cultivation of the spirit of good-will through the agencies of schools, colleges, the press, and the churches of every land, and also by means of travel and trade.

AN ACT OF CONGRESS WHICH CHRISTIANS SHOULD SUPPORT

An act of the greatest importance was passed by the last Congress, namely, the Naval Appropriation Bill. It was important not merely because it authorized a greatly enlarged navy at an expense of \$600,000,000, but also, and more especially, because of the Hensley rider.

Congress thereby declared it to be the policy of the United States "to settle its international disputes through mediation and arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided." It also declared that the United States "looks with apprehension and disfavor upon a general increase of armaments throughout the world."

The United States recognizes, however, that no nation can wisely enter alone upon a policy of disarmament and that disarmament cannot take place in advance of such arrangements for the judicial settlement of international disputes as may secure justice to all.

Congress accordingly authorized the President to "call a conference of all great governments" not later than the close of the war, whose duty it shall be to formulate plans for the establishment of a world tribunal for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and to consider the question of disarmament, and to suspend further building of the navy, when such international tribunal shall have been established and shall have rendered unnecessary the maintenance of competitive armaments. The President was also authorized to appoint nine Americans "to represent the United States in such a conference." Congress also appropriated \$200,000 for the expenses of such a conference.

In view of this splendid act, the people of the United States should so express their endorsement of these proposals that the President may know that he has the entire nation behind him in carrying them out.

Should not every pastor in the United States be expected and even requested to preach upon this subject in order that the people may know of this act and be prepared to do their part in its support?

LET THE CHURCHES MOBILIZE THEIR FORCES

How now may the churches grapple with the many vast tasks that face them? There is only one possible way—cooperation through proper organization. The churches and Christians of America must find some way of uniting their forces, of massing their batteries, of moving onward as one solid body.

Twenty-four million* Protestants and 13,000,000 Roman Catholics can do what they will for righteousness and justice, if they will properly cooperate. What is now needed is the coordination and focusing of our vast Christian forces on the old, yet new problem confronting civilization. The churches of Christendom, as constituted and organized at present, are not prepared to demand of their respective governments and rulers world justice through world organization. Neither are the religious forces of America.

We stand at the parting of the ways. Europe's tragedy marks a new era in human history; Asia's awakening is pregnant with opportunity. Shall militarism be the determining feature of the new era, or world justice, made possible through world organization? The answer will depend in no small part on the answer of America and American churches. In some way, therefore, our churches must surmount the obstacle of denominations and sects; they must build up their peace organization and swing the whole nation into line with a Christian peace program. If the 24,000,000* Protestant Christians of the United States can be welded into a single well organized body for the effective Christianization of America's international relations and policy, a mighty step forward will have been taken in providing for world justice and in establishing world peace.

American Protestant Christians rightly hold that the church and the state are distinct; that neither should invade the realm and the functions of the other. Long experience shows the wisdom of this practise. Never again should the church utilize civil power for securing its own support or for the supposed promotion of truth or prevention of error. Never again should the state dominate the church to promote the interests of dynastic, or party politics.

This principle of the separation of church and state, however, must not be misunderstood nor misapplied. It should not be used to block the demand of Christian citizens for righteous international policies and relations. While the church and state are indeed distinct, it is also true that they are intimately interrelated. Christians are citizens and as citizens they may not ignore their responsibilities as Christians. In a democratic land like ours the insistence of Christians that international policies and behavior shall be honest, just, and kindly, and the proposal by Christians of measures that adopt such policies and secure such action are not violations of the principle in question. This insistence may be voiced by established ecclesiastical bodies, or it may be voiced by Christians acting individually or collectively. But, however it is voiced, there is no invasion of the realm of the state by the church. Has the time not come for Christians to organize their common

* Including the 6,000,000 not connected with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

convictions in this matter? Should Christians not give these convictions efficiency in determining the international relations of our people?

How this mobilization of the Christian forces of the world may be secured has been outlined by the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches. The object of the Alliance is stated as follows:

"Inasmuch as the work of conciliation and the promotion of amity is essentially a Christian task, it is expedient that the churches in all lands should use their influence with the peoples, parliaments, and governments of the world to bring about good and friendly relations between the nations, so that, along the path of peaceful civilization, they may reach that universal good-will which Christianity has taught mankind to aspire after.

"Inasmuch as all sections of the church of Christ are equally concerned in the maintenance of peace and promotion of good feeling among all races of the world, it is advisable for them to act in concert in their effort to carry the foregoing resolution into effect."

The American Council of the World Alliance, moreover, has prepared a simple, yet adequate plan for the cooperation of all American churches and Christians in this vast enterprise. It invites every communion and denomination in the United States to establish a commission for cooperation with the American Council. It also invites every local congregation to establish a committee.

The purpose of these invitations, and the object of these commissions and committees, when formed, is:

To connect each communion and each local congregation with the world movement of the churches;

To promote study in the local community of the principles of Christian internationalism;

To develop the intelligent convictions of church-members in regard to their international responsibilities and duties; and

To render possible the collective action of Christian citizens in Christianizing America's international relations.

The World Alliance holds that every church and every Christian should help in establishing a Christian world order.

The Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has endorsed

these invitations and is cooperating in the entire movement.

The plan calls for:

A. Systematic, nation-wide education.

The principles and methods of world constructive statesmanship should be studied in Bible classes, brotherhoods, men's leagues, women's clubs, home and foreign missionary societies, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and young people's societies.

B. Collective, cooperative, and simultaneous action.

Suitable petitions to the President and to Congress, at the right times and rightly phrased, should be signed by millions of Christian citizens.

Every church should establish its committee on world problems and introduce into all its groups at some suitable time the study of the methods and responsibilities for establishing world righteousness and world peace. No new organization is proposed and no new meetings.

The duty of study and then of active cooperation in establishing a Christian world order does not belong exclusively to any particular class, to peace workers, to the clergy, or to high ecclesiastics. It falls upon all, upon both men and women.

Christian men have their peculiar responsibility in this matter. They alone have the suffrage, except in a few states. What they think on international policies will have directive influence upon those policies. They should therefore study these questions earnestly and conscientiously, and be prepared to make their peculiar contribution to the cause of establishing a Christian world order.

Christian women also have their peculiar responsibilities in these matters. They train the children in the home, in the schools, and in the Sunday-schools. They can look upon international problems and policies with interests less warped by ambition for great financial gains, commercial conquests, and national glory. The disasters and calamities of war fall most heavily upon them. Through their missionary societies, women's clubs, and Chautauqua courses, they are organized for study and for work as are no other groups in the country. They should therefore bend their energies to the study of these questions and to the development of intelligent convictions and sane methods for the establishment of international righteousness, government, and good-will.

Every Christian who wishes to do his part and to have the

churches of America do their part in establishing a Christian world order should see to it that his church establishes its peacemakers' committee.

The imperative importance of a nation-wide unparalleled benevolence for the relief of innocent war sufferers has already been considered. The necessary machinery for carrying it through may seem to some impracticable. If the churches of America, however, are earnest to establish international goodwill there is no intrinsic difficulty in our way. One of the important duties of the local peacemakers' committee might well be to present to each member of the church and congregation this call and invitation to give monthly for the relief of Europe's suffering, and at the close of the war a thank-offering that will really count.

Would it be unseemly or unwise for the quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to put its stamp of approval upon these plans and proposals of the American Council of the World Alliance and of its own Commission on Peace and Arbitration? May not each delegate make himself responsible for pressing this opportunity and this duty upon those in places of high responsibility in his denomination and secure the hearty co-operation in this movement of the entire body of Christians in his church?

Should not the churches of America be as earnest in establishing Christian principles in international relations as they are in sending the gospel of Christ to non-Christian peoples?

IX.

Summary

America has unique opportunity and responsibility for rendering important aid in abolishing war and in bringing in the new world order. The American government as well as the American people should therefore be as active in promoting world organization and international good-will, as they are in providing for national safety and prosperity.

World peace can come only as the fruit and product of international righteousness. Peace is the outcome of justice, justice is secured through law, law depends upon organization. The political organization of the world, therefore, is the first step to be taken toward the goal of peace. Nations, as individuals, should recognize the rights of others, render justice rather than demand rights, and find their greatness in good-will and service.

The establishment of this new world order requires:

(1) The abandonment of selfish nationalism, with its distorted patriotism, its secret diplomacy, its double morality, its demoralizing spy system, and its frank and brutal assertion of selfishness, of unlimited sovereignty, and of the right to override and destroy weak neighbors; and

(2) The adoption of a Christian nationalism, a Christian patriotism, and a Christian internationalism, which assert the familyhood of nations, the limitation of sovereignty, and the right of all nations and races, small and great, to share in the world's resources and in opportunity for self-directing development and expanding life.

The establishment of the new world order implies the substitution of the cooperative for the competitive theory and practise of nations. The churches of America should now vigorously promote *nation-wide education, unparalleled international benevolence, right domestic legislation, and suitable international organization.*

NATION-WIDE EDUCATION

The nation-wide education of American citizens in the principles of international rights and duties, and of world

organization must be secured. Individual citizens should all unite in working for this end.

UNPARALLELED INTERNATIONAL BENEVOLENCE

Nation-wide and vast benevolence must be secured to meet the appalling suffering and need of our Christian brethren of Europe. We must aid them even to the point of genuine self-sacrifice.

DOMESTIC LEGISLATION

America should enact suitable legislation for dealing with international relations. America must give justice and kind treatment to all immigrants, both European and Asiatic. America's Asiatic policy of helpfulness must be fully established. No longer may we contravene our treaties with China, and disregard the spirit of the treaties with Japan. The mutual relations of the United States and Latin America must be set right by regarding their interests and viewpoint. To secure these ends Congress should promptly:

Adopt a comprehensive policy and program for the regulation of immigration from every land, and for the Americanization of immigrants.

Enact such laws as will enable the federal government to carry out its treaty pledges for the protection of aliens residing in the United States.

Adopt an Asiatic policy that recognizes the new world conditions now arising through the expanding life of the Orient.

Define more adequately the Monroe Doctrine and take suitable steps for the establishment of a pan-American federation.

PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The United States should lay before a conference of the nations, at or soon after the close of the Great War, proposals for:

A declaration of the fundamental rights and duties of nations to constitute the basis of international law.

The formation of a league of the nations to support the principles of this declaration.

The creation by this league of the nations of adequate agencies and processes, legislative, executive, judicial, for the attainment of international justice.

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NATION-WIDE EDUCATION

The nation-wide education of American citizens in the principles of international rights and duties, and of world

nations live under "a canopy of love as broad as the blue sky above."

We implore men everywhere to hope. If the old hope is dead, God can beget us unto a living hope. We can, through disappointment and disillusionment, rise into a better hope. Why should Christians be despairing when we know that omnipotent love is on the throne, and that all things work together for good to those who love God?

We beseech all men throughout the world to love. Hearts everywhere are feverish and restless. Multitudes are filled with rancor and resentment, some of them with bitterness and venomous hatred. It is time to ponder again the measure of the divine forgiveness, and to remember that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Each of the warring nations has stirred many hearts throughout the world to indignation and contempt, and we all need to listen to the apostolic exhortation: "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and railing, be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving each other, even as God also in Christ forgave you."

We call all men everywhere to prayer. "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." Let us pray for ourselves and for others, for our own nation and for other nations, especially the nations which are being lacerated by the scourge of war, and let the burden of our prayer be that the mind may be in us which was also in Christ Jesus, so that we, like him, may become obedient unto death, that through us the kingdom of God may more fully come.

We entreat all God-fearing men to gird themselves for more strenuous labors. Without the purposeful forthputting of energy, no great end is accomplished. It is not to the peace-wishers, or the peace-hopers, or the peace-lovers, but to the peacemakers that the promise is given. To make peace in a world like this is a stupendous undertaking. War could have been abolished long ago, had Christians been willing to pay the awful price. Evil, to be banished, must be resisted with all the force of consecrated personality. Men may cry "Peace, peace," and there will be no peace until heroes and heroines toil wholeheartedly to create the conditions of peace. Peace does not come as the result of contemplation, but as the reward of purposeful and painful effort. We need to rehearse the Master's words: "Think not that I came to send peace on the

earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword." Do not think that the kingdom of God will come in tranquillity, and that righteousness will be exalted amid the plaudits of the crowd. Do not imagine that justice will be enthroned without resistance, and that love will be crowned without opposition. Do not dream that high ideals will go forward to their coronation without the bloody sweat of those sworn to achieve their triumph. Remember that the price of progress is discussion and controversy, contention and strife, and you must be faithful to the truth even though it costs you every friend, and even life itself. Christians must prepare the way of the Lord. They must clear away misconceptions and fallacies and falsehoods, and break the power of the mighty who lead the multitudes astray. They must trample upon the wisdom of the wise and prudent, and attempt things which are manifestly impossible. They must be willing to become fools for Christ's sake. They who would bear witness to the truth must be content to be made of no reputation, and to stand in Pilate's court alone. It is only through pain and loss and agony of spirit that the purposes of God are fulfilled. We shall never get rid of the scourge of war until Christians in larger numbers are willing to labor and suffer, and if need be, die.

There is only one Christian way of overcoming evil, and that is by good. There is only one Christian way of conquering hate, and that is by love.

XI.

Supplementary Report

The Quadrennial Meeting of the Council, which received the foregoing report, received significant communications and took important actions which should be here recorded.

The following greetings came by cable and wireless from the British Evangelical Alliance, H. M. Gooch, Secretary; the Free Church Council of Great Britain, Rev. F. B. Meyer, Honorary Secretary; the Franco-Belgian Home Missions Society, Paul Barde, Superintendent; the French Protestant Churches, Jules Pfender, President; from Professor Adolf Deissmann of Berlin, and Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickinson, British Secretary of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

BRITISH EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

"Macfarland Second Baptist Church,
St. Louis, Mo.

British Organization World's Evangelical Alliance sends greetings. The supreme need in this hour of world crisis is the closer unity in truth and love of all Christians and churches holding the head Christ Jesus and cooperation for the extension throughout the world of the principles of the gospel of Christ the sure basis of lasting peace.

Gooch, General Secretary"

FREE CHURCH COUNCIL OF GREAT BRITAIN

"Federal Council

Second Baptist Church of St. Louis, Mo.

Greetings of Love and Faith.

Meyer."

FRANCO-BELGIAN HOME MISSIONS SOCIETY

"Macfarland, Fedcil, N. Y.

French and Belgian home mission workers send greetings and request for help and prayers to American brethren.

Barde."

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCHES

"Paris

Federal Council, Second Baptist Church,
St. Louis, Mo.

Union National Eglises Réformées Evangeliques envoie cordial salut des Huguenots Français aux frères Américains réunis en concile Federal Dieu les bénisse et fasse triompher sur terre justice et amour par Christ.

Pfender, President."

Word was received by wireless from Berlin stating that Professor Adolf Deissmann of Berlin was unable to secure immediate transmission of a message which he desired to send to the Council, owing to the fact that he is in Poland. He expressed the wish that his previous wireless message to Dr. Macfarland, relative to a league of nations, be conveyed to the Council.

"WORLD ALLIANCE FOR PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL
FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES"

(British Council)

British Council World Alliance cordial greetings. May Federal Council lead to Christian friendship among nations.

Dickinson."

Greetings were also received from various war sufferers' relief organizations:

"The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America,

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Rev. W. C. Bitting,
Second Baptist Church, St. Louis, Mo.

"On behalf of our organizations we wish to express to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America our grateful appreciation for its generous assistance in the furtherance of our efforts to relieve the indescribable suffering abroad, and we earnestly hope that this assistance will be continued.

American Relief Committee for Widows and Orphans of the Wars in Germany, B.F.B. Permanent Blind Relief War Fund for Starving Children, American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, American Huguenot Committee, American Red Cross Commission for Relief in Belgium, East Prussian Relief Fund, the National Allied Relief Committee, German General Relief Committee for War Sufferers in Germany and Austria-Hungary, Serbian Relief Committee of America, War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies,

Polish Victims Relief Fund, Committee of Mercy, Russian War Relief Committee, International Reconstruction League, American Committee Collecting for the Charities of the Queen of Belgium."

"Minneapolis, Minn.,
Nov. 29, 1916

To the Conference of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,

FATHERS AND BRETHREN:

Lectures, organized previously in Canada, prevent me from attending your meetings. I should have liked to be present and convey to you a message of gratitude and an appeal from the American Huguenot Committee, on behalf of the home missionary work in Belgium and in France: a message of gratitude for the kind help given to me during the last twelve months by the offices of the Federal Council in New York; an appeal to your Christian sympathy in favor of your brethren suffering in the war zone in Belgium and Northern France. We have there, under German rule, sixty pastors and their families, beside evangelists, colporteurs, deaconesses and lay helpers, an orphanage, several medical missions, and institutions for old people and poor. We cannot maintain that work, so useful and so wonderfully blessed, without your help. By the end of March, 1917, we ought to receive at least \$70,000.

Under a deep spiritual awakening, our missions have never been so prosperous, spiritually. To curtail the work would mean to miss a grand opportunity. The Church of Christ would lack statesmanship if she did not realize that the war zone in Belgium and France, as well as the prisoners' camps in Germany, are now the strategical points in the conquest of the world by the Gospel.

May God Almighty bless your meetings and save our fear-stricken and oppressed friends in the war zone.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) HENRI ANET,

Delegate of the American Huguenot Committee"

"Dr. Charles S. Macfarland,

Hotel Warwick, 15th and Locust Sts., St. Louis, Mo.

Speaking for Committee on Armenian and Syrian Relief, will you kindly thank Council for the great service which it has rendered for the sufferers; also, if opportunity offers, will you speak a strong word for the World Court League in its effort to establish peace through justice after the war?

SAMUEL T. DUTTON, *Secretary*"

XII.

Resolutions

The following resolutions bearing upon international relations were unanimously passed by the third quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 11, 1916.

I. RESOLUTION OF INSTRUCTION TO THE COMMISSION ON PEACE AND ARBITRATION AND TO THE COMMISSION ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

Whereas, The solution of the vast and intricate problems confronting the nations to-day is to be found only as they loyally adopt the Christian principles of brotherhood, justice, and good-will for the control of their competing interests and natural ambitions; and

Whereas, The practise of these Christian principles on the part of the United States depends primarily on the instructed conscience of its citizens; therefore

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America directs its Commission on Peace and Arbitration and its Commission on Relations with Japan to continue their efforts in every suitable way to lay before the Christian citizens of our land such information in regard to international problems and such suggestions as to the application of the Christian principles of human brotherhood to the solution of those problems as may be conducive to the establishment of the kingdom of God in the affairs of nations. The commissions are especially requested to see that the constituency of this Council is adequately informed in regard to various resolutions dealing with international relations passed by this Quadrennial Council.

II. RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMISSION ON PEACE AND ARBITRATION TO COOPERATE WITH THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE WORLD ALLIANCE FOR PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE

CHURCHES AND CALLING UPON THE CONSTITUENT BODIES AND THEIR LOCAL CONGREGATIONS TO ESTABLISH APPROPRIATE COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES

Whereas, Present world conditions call for a clearer recognition of Christian principles of the brotherhood of men, the practise of righteousness and good-will between nations as between individuals, the substitution of judicial processes for war in the settlement of international disputes, and the embodiment of these principles in national policies and laws, not merely as an abstract ideal, but as a practical conviction for whose development the Christian churches have special responsibility, and

Whereas, The realization of these ideals and principles will be possible only when the Christian citizens of the United States in the churches of all the different communions co-operate in collective and united action,

Resolved, That this Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America welcomes the invitation of the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches to cooperate in this movement for the establishment of the kingdom of God in international relations and directs its Commission on Peace and Arbitration to undertake such cooperation in every practicable way.

Resolved, That we request each one of our thirty constituent bodies to establish as promptly as possible, if it has not already done so, a suitable commission for effective cooperation with this Commission on Peace and Arbitration and with the American Council of the World Alliance.

Resolved, That we urgently recommend that each local congregation of our constituent bodies establish at once a Peace Makers' Committee, either of its own or in cooperation with neighboring churches, communicate directly with the national office of the American Council of the World Alliance, and take up during the winter the important activities proposed for such committees in the education of our citizenship in their responsibilities for more effectively Christianizing America's international policies and relations.

III. RESOLUTION REGARDING THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELIEF OF WAR SUFFERERS

Whereas, The tragedy of Europe lays upon us who enjoy peace and prosperity the duty of Christian service commensurate with their need and our abundance.

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America hereby endorses the campaign for benevolence for the relief of war sufferers, and commends to all Christians in all churches the suggestion of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration, that all give according to their ability and that many church-members might well contribute for the aid of sufferers from the war, each month so long as the war lasts, the income of an average day; and that at the close of the war as a thank offering each Christian be asked to give the income of one week.

Resolved, That each local congregation be requested to ask its peacemakers' committee recommended above, to serve as the Committee on Systematic Benevolence for Innocent War Sufferers.

IV. RESOLUTION CALLING FOR FEDERAL LEGIS- LATION FOR THE ADEQUATE PROTECTION OF ALIENS

Whereas, The government of the United States in all its treaties solemnly promises to protect the lives and property of aliens, in response to which promises the nations with which we have treaties make reciprocal promises, which promises we require them to observe; and

Whereas, up to the present, Congress has never yet enacted the laws needful for the adequate execution of these obligations of honor and good neighborliness; and

Whereas, the most probable cause of conflict between America and other nations arises from the possible action of local race prejudice expressed either in lawless violence or in the invasion of treaty rights and friendly relations by local legislation; and

Whereas, The American Bar Association has framed a bill designed to provide for this glaring defect in our federal laws of which the following section constitutes the central portion: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Repre-

sentatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that any act committed in any state or territory of the United States in violation of the rights of citizen or subject of a foreign country secured to such citizen or subject by treaty between the United States and such foreign country, which act constitutes a crime under the laws of such state or territory, shall constitute a like crime against the peace and dignity of the United States, punishable in like manner as in the courts of said state or territory, and, within the period limited by the laws of such state or territory, and may be prosecuted in the courts of the United States, and, upon conviction, the sentence executed in like manner as sentences upon convictions for crimes under the laws of the United States."

Whereas, a Conference on America's Oriental Problems held September 26, 1916, by a group of twenty American missionaries from China and Japan with an equal number of secretaries of foreign missionary boards and laymen interested in Christian work in the Orient passed a resolution calling upon the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to present this matter effectively to the President and Congress of the United States; therefore

Resolved, that this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, being vitally interested in the observance by the United States of all its treaty obligations and responsibilities, urges upon Congress and the President of the United States the enactment of the above or some similar law during the coming session of Congress;

Resolved, further that this Council directs its Commissions on Peace and Arbitration and on Relations with Japan to take such steps as may be necessary to present this matter effectively to the President and to Congress.

V. RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A FEDERAL COMMISSION ON ORIENTAL RELATIONS

Whereas, The problem of the relation of the United States with Japan, is still unsolved, and should be settled in a way honorable and advantageous to both, and

Whereas, The rise of a new China requires of us a reconsideration of the entire problem of our relations with that people and the adoption of a policy free from invidious and humiliating treatment, and

Whereas, These matters cannot be adequately considered nor the problems solved save by the action of the federal government, and

Whereas, A Conference on American Oriental Problems held on September 26th, 1916, by twenty American missionaries from Japan and China with a similar number of secretaries of foreign missionary boards and laymen interested in Christian work in the Orient, took action calling upon the President to appoint "a commission of not less than five members whose duty it shall be to study the entire problem of the relations of America with Japan and with China; and further to recommend to Congress that it invite the government of China and the government of Japan each to appoint a similar commission; and if such commissions should be appointed it is the opinion of this Conference that the American Commission should meet the Commissions of China and Japan in their respective countries," therefore

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America directs the Commission on Relations with Japan and the Commission on Peace and Arbitration, to cooperate with the committee appointed by the conference above referred to in securing the appointment by the President of a Federal Commission on Oriental Relations.

VI. RESOLUTION EMBODYING A DECLARATION CONCERNING THE ATTITUDE OF AMERICA TOWARD JAPAN

Whereas, There is more or less apprehension in Japan that the United States harbors imperialistic ambitions in the Orient inimical to her legitimate interests and welfare, and

Whereas, There is more or less apprehension in America that Japan has designs upon the territory of the United States, and

Whereas, The existence of such fears tends to chill the historic friendship of these two countries and is leading each nation into naval and military preparations to ward off a possible attack on the part of the other, and

Whereas, There is abundant reason for believing that neither country has any designs whatever upon the other and that the real welfare of each can best be attained by clearly

avowed policies of mutual good-will and cooperation, with definite effort to overcome suspicions and banish fears; therefore

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America herewith declares on behalf of its constituency that the United States seeks no advantage or opportunity in the Orient harmful to those lands nor will it be partner with any nation or any undertaking that seeks selfish advantage regardless of the rights and welfare of their peoples. The Federal Council will earnestly seek to make these principles widely accepted among our people and dominant among our legislators and executives, and

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Council commends to all Americans and to the peoples of other lands as the ideal and fundamental principle guiding the United States in her international relations these noble words of President Wilson:

"We must prove ourselves their friends and champions, upon terms of equality and honor. We cannot be friends upon any other terms than upon the terms of equality. We cannot be friends at all except upon the terms of honor, and we must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our interest or not. It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interest."

VII. RESOLUTION REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMISSION ON RELATIONS WITH MEXICO AND LATIN AMERICA

Whereas, The new world situation rapidly developing is bringing the United States into increasingly close relations with the countries of Mexico and Latin America, and

Whereas, These relations should not be established on the basis of economic and utilitarian interests only but also on the basis of righteousness, justice, good-will, and mutual profit, and,

Whereas, The churches of the United States have special duties to discharge in these matters, which they can discharge effectively only in cooperation, therefore,

Resolved, That the executive and administrative committees of this Council be instructed, in connection with the

general movement for the relief of innocent war sufferers, to secure the creation of a committee for the relief of suffering among the people of Mexico.

Resolved, That the executive committee be directed to consider the desirability of a Commission on Relations with Mexico and Latin America.

VIII. RESOLUTION CALLING UPON THE PRESS
OF THE UNITED STATES FOR A SYMPATHETIC
AND HELPFUL TREATMENT OF THE
AMERICAN JAPANESE QUESTION

Whereas, Certain newspapers of the United States have published cartoons, displays, advertisements, serial stories, and black-faced editorials highly insulting to Japan and promoting among our people an attitude of suspicion, race prejudice, and animosity inimical to the maintenance of friendly relations, therefore

Resolved, That the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America hereby expresses its condemnation of this misuse of the press and urges upon all editors, reporters, and publishers their incomparable opportunity in promoting goodwill between ourselves and other nations founded upon correct information, sympathetic understanding, and universal human brotherhood.

IX. RESOLUTION CHANGING THE NAME OF THE
COMMISSION ON PEACE AND ARBITRATION
TO THE COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL
JUSTICE AND GOOD-WILL

Whereas, The name of this commission does not adequately express its purpose or spirit, therefore

Resolved, That the name of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration shall hereafter be the Commission on International Justice and Good-will.

X. RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR THE ENLARGE-
MENT OF THE SCOPE OF THE COMMISSION
ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AND A
CHANGE OF ITS NAME TO THE COM-
MISSION ON ORIENTAL RELATIONS

Whereas, The increasing contact of the United States with China and Japan constitutes one of the grave problems of the immediate future, and

Whereas, That contact can be mutually wholesome and helpful only as it is controlled by Christian principles of neighborliness and brotherhood, and

Whereas, The Commission on Relations with Japan established by the executive committee of the Federal Council, has justified its existence by its work and shown the importance of bringing to bear upon these international relations the pressure of an adequately informed Christian conscience, therefore

Resolved, That the work of the Commission on Relations with Japan be expanded to cover American relations with the entire Far East, and that the name of the Commission be changed to the Commission on Oriental Relations.

XI. RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF CHRISTMAS

Resolved, That the General Secretary of the Federal Council be instructed to request the Christian people of this country in their public and private worship on the evening of Christmas Day to make earnest prayer for the promotion of Christian fellowship and permanent peace among all the peoples of the world.

XII. RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE PETITION OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE WORLD ALLIANCE FOR PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS IN REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, GOOD-WILL AND ORGANIZATION

Resolved, That this Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America commends to its constituency the wide study of and appropriate action on the following petition* to the President and Congress of the United States issued by the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

* See pp. 127-141 for the text of this petition.

XIII. GENERAL RESOLUTIONS

In view of the messages of greeting received from various foreign churches and also of certain suggestions made at the time of the report of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration, the following action was taken:

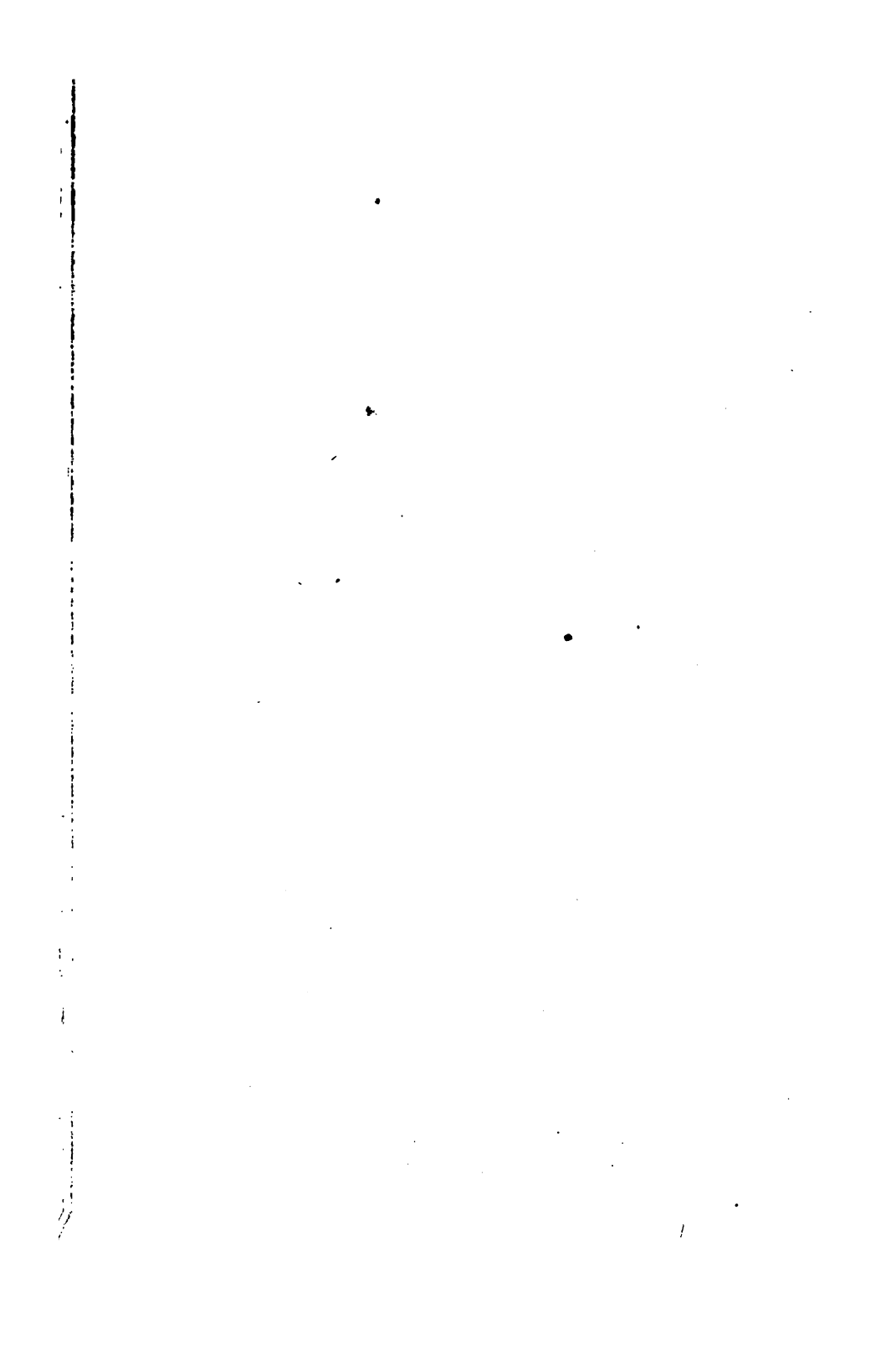
Resolved, That the following message be sent to the churches of Europe and Asia:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, composed of members appointed by Christian bodies with eighteen millions of communicants, extends to the Christian brethren in countries now engaged in war its deepest sympathy, born of Christian faith and brotherhood. Our hearts have been touched as we have learned of the sufferings that war has brought, and have been stirred by the reports of the deepening of the Christian spirit through sorrow and self-devotion.

We pray that their tragic experiences may inspire us all to a deeper loyalty to the spiritual realities in which believers in Christ are one, and that the time may soon come when differences between nations shall be adjusted in the spirit of the Gospel of Christ rather than by appeal to arms. Especially do we hope that the present war may come to a speedy end, and call upon all Christians throughout the world to cooperate in an effort to establish a peace that shall be lasting because based on justice and good-will.

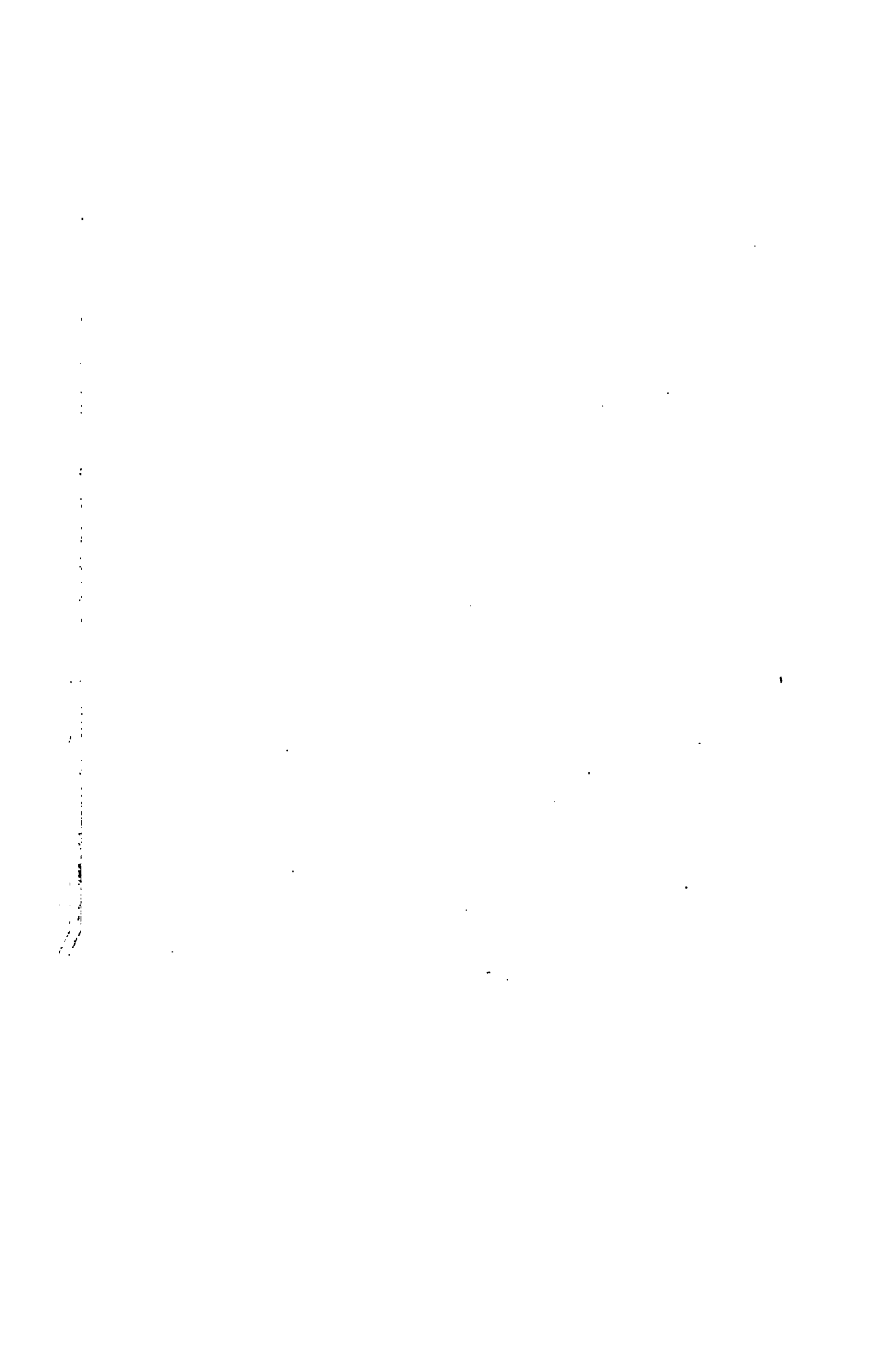
We, therefore, instruct our Executive Committee to extend this expression of our Christian sympathy and this appeal to the churches of Christ to the brethren beyond the seas, and authorize it to adopt such methods in so doing as may seem to it effective and expedient.*

*The above message was sent in due season by wireless, cable, and post to the churches of Europe and Asia.











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